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ART. I. — *Biography and History of the Indians of North America, from its First Discovery to the Present Time, with an Account of their Antiquities, Manners and Customs, Religion and Laws.* By SAMUEL G. DRAKE. Fifth Edition, with large Additions and Corrections, and numerous Engravings. Boston. 1836. 8vo. pp. 576.

WE owe a lasting obligation to Mr. Drake, for his unwearied efforts to collect and preserve the scattered memorials of a people that so soon must cease to exist. Their character and fate form a chapter of mournful interest in our American history; and there is something almost holy in the task of thus tracing out the few and faint vestiges that remain of an ill-fated race, and, as it were, rearing, with the cold and scattered hearth-stones of their once cheerful homes, a monument to their memory.

Their origin is enveloped in obscurity; and their history, from the time that they first became known to the Europeans, exists only in meagre and detached fragments. But whoever reads Mr. Drake's "Book of the Indians of North America," cannot but feel that the task of collecting and arranging these has fallen into skilful hands. His sympathy for the hard fate of the Indian, his indefatigable diligence in collecting materials from original and authentic sources, and his strict love of truth and accuracy, evinced in the full and minute reference

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to authorities, by which he seems to have courted the scrutiny of the closest examination, admirably qualified him for the work he has now so faithfully executed. Much had been done, within a short time, by the learned labors of Duponceau, Heckewelder, Cass, Pickering, and others, to illustrate the institutions, language, and history of the Indians; but the subject was by no means exhausted. Mr. Thatcher's Indian Biography, however meritorious as a popular narrative, makes no claim to originality either in matter or manner, and, by the accurate historian, can be considered, at best, only as a hasty compilation, even the language of other writers being very often retained. There was, therefore, still needed, as a volume of authority and standard reference, a more full and complete collection. Such a work we feel little hesitation in pronouncing the volume before us. While it cannot fail to interest the common reader, the antiquary will regard it as a valuable accession to the stock of Indian history.

Mr. Drake was first known to us by an edition of Church's History of Philip's War, which he published about ten years since, accompanied with notes, discovering diligent research and a true antiquarian spirit. Since that time, he seems to have devoted himself with much assiduity to the subject of Indian history and antiquities. In 1832, he published the first edition of the work before us. This was a duodecimo volume of about 350 pages, entitled "Indian Biography," and was the first book of the kind, which we recollect to have been published in the country. The second edition was a thick octavo, and the present volume contains nearly six hundred pages, closely printed, in small type. We mention these circumstances, to show that Mr. Drake has long labored in this department; and, as the constantly increasing size and interest of his "Book of the Indians" shows, with great assiduity and success.

The arrangement of the work is judicious and appropriate. Authorities are faithfully given for the facts stated, making it of permanent value to the historian as a book of reference; and a full and complete index, a thing indispensable in such a collection of comparatively isolated facts, as the history of the Indians must necessarily be, places the whole contents at the immediate disposal of the reader. The style is unambitious, and, as the author remarks in his Preface, "all verbiage is avoided, and plain matters of fact have been arrived at by

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the shortest and most direct course." Undoubtedly the eye of the verbal critic might detect occasional improprieties in the use of words, and point out some expressions hardly suited to the dignity of historical composition. But the great labor and extensive research, the tedious examination and collation of musty volumes and defaced records, which the compilation of such a work must have cost the author, the minute and faithful accuracy with which he has given every fact, and the industry and strict adherence to truth, visible on every page, are merits sufficient to atone for minor and trivial faults.

But we have spoken sufficiently of the general character of the work, and will now proceed to examine, more particularly, its contents. It is divided into five Books, which we shall take up separately in their order; believing that we cannot do the author better justice, than by making known to the reader what his volume contains, and allowing him occasionally to speak for himself.

The first Book is devoted to remarks on the origin, antiquities, manners and customs of the American Indians. After quoting a few passages from ancient authors, supposed by some to refer to America, and by them adduced in support of the opinion that the western continent was known to the ancients, — a point on which we feel at liberty to be quite skeptical, — the author gives the substance of the opinions of most of the modern theorists, who have written upon the great question of the first peopling of America. These theories were noticed probably more by way of curiosity, than with the expectation of enlightening the reader on a subject, which, in all human probability, must for ever remain in obscurity. Thomas Morton, in his "New Canaan," published in 1637, was of the opinion, that the Indians "might originally have come of the scattered Trojans," from the circumstance of a similarity of language, which he inferred from fancying he had heard among their words *Pascopan;* hence he believed, without a doubt, that their ancestors were acquainted with the god *Pan.* Adair, Boudinot, and several other authors, have fancied that they perceived in the Indian languages a strong resemblance to the Hebrew; and have labored hard to prove the identity of the American Indians with the long-lost ten tribes of Israel. William Wood, the author of "New England's Prospect," who left the country in 1633, after a short stay, says; "Of their language, which is only peculiar to them-

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selves, not inclining to any of the refined tongues, some have thought they might be of the dispersed Jews, because some of their words be near unto the Hebrew; but by the same rule they may conclude them to be some of the gleanings of all nations, because they have words which sound after the Greek, Latin, French, and other tongues." Josselyn judged the Mohawks to be "Tartars, called Samoades, being alike in complexion, shape, habit, and manners." Cotton Mather, with his "wig full of learning," could not, of course, be silent on so important a theme; and, as in his mythology the Devil was always a most important personage, he assigns to him the business of conducting hither the first expedition, and of peopling America, with the hope of establishing an empire so remote that "the sound of the silver trumpets of the gospel might never disturb his territories." "The natives of the country," he says, in another place, "now possessed by the Newengland-ers, had been forlorn and wretched heathen ever since their first herding here; and though we know not *when* or *how* these Indians first became inhabitants of this mighty continent, yet we may guess that probably the *Devil* decoyed those miserable salvages hither, in hopes that the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ would never come here to destroy or disturb his absolute empire over them." "But our Eliot," continues he, "was on such ill terms with the Devil, as to alarm him with sounding the silver trumpets of heaven in his territories, and make some noble and zealous attempts towards ousting him of ancient possessions here. There were, I think, twenty several nations (if I may call them so) of Indians upon that spot of ground which fell under the influence of our Three United Colonies; and our Eliot was willing to rescue as many of them as he could from that old usurping *landlord* of America, who is, by the wrath of God, the prince of this world."

This question, which the learned Doctor (who took good care to have always a sufficient force of the like supernatural agency in reserve, to explain all that he could not readily account for by his varied learning, and illustrate by a Latin or Greek quotation,) thus disposes of, has exercised also the pens of Grotius, Robertson, Voltaire, Lord Kaims, and others; and their different solutions, though they might have satisfied, for the time, their authors, at least, are based on principles about as sound, and may be deemed about as certain, as that

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of Cotton Mather. If the problem is ever solved by man, it must be by the combined aid of the whole circle of human wisdom, — history, philology, geology, natural history, &c.; as there is hardly any science, or branch of knowledge, which may not, in virtue of the "commune vinculum," contribute its share to the task. And it is necessary not only that every possible fact be collected that can throw the least light, direct or indirect, upon the question; but also, in the language of Cuvier in reference to another subject, "carefully and decidedly to find the place of every thing before building upon it." The theories of Robertson, Voltaire, and Lord Kaims, with many others, are given by Mr. Drake; but to attempt to examine their different merits would require more space than our limits will allow us to devote to this part of the volume.

A portion of the first Book is devoted to illustrating the manners, customs, disposition, habits, and traditions of the Indians. This is attempted principally by anecdotes drawn from every variety of source; but the aim seems to have been rather to amuse the reader, than to present a connected and instructive disquisition on the subjects announced at the head of the chapter. There is, however, much to entertain, if not to inform. We do not complain of want of interest, but only that we had looked for something more methodical and complete. One or two of these anecdotes we will give the reader.

"*Characters Contrasted.* — 'An Indian of the Kennebeck tribe, remarkable for his good conduct, received a grant of land from the State, and fixed himself in a new township where a number of families were settled. Though not ill treated, yet the common prejudice against Indians prevented any sympathy with him. This was shown at the death of his only child, when none of the people came near him. Shortly afterwards he went to some of the inhabitants, and said to them: "When white man's child die, Indian man he sorry, — he help bury him. When my child die, no one speak to me. I make his grave alone. I can no live here." He gave up his farm, dug up the body of his child, and carried it with him two hundred miles through the forests, to join the Canada Indians.' " — Book I. chap. iii. p. 22.

"*Harmless Deception.* — In a time of Indian troubles, an Indian visited the house of Governor Jenks, of Rhode Island, when the governor took occasion to request him, if any strange

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Indian should come to his wigwam, to let him know it, which the Indian promised to do; but, to secure his fidelity, the governor told him that when he should give him such information, he would give him a mug of flip. Some time after the Indian came again. 'Well, Mr. Gubenor, strange Indian come my house last night!' 'Ah,' says the governor, 'and what did he say?' 'He no speak,' replied the Indian. 'What, no speak at all?' added the governor. 'No, he no speak at all.' 'That certainly looks suspicious,' said his excellency, and inquired if he were still there; and being told that he was, ordered the promised mug of flip. When this was disposed of, and the Indian was about to depart, he mildly said, 'Mr. Gubenor, my squaw have child last night;' and thus the governor's alarm was suddenly changed into disappointment, and the strange Indian into a new-born pappoose." — *Ibid.*, p. 28.

The remaining portion of the first Book is devoted to American Antiquities. Mr. Drake has collected most of what may be considered valuable from the various writers who have attempted to treat of them; "confining himself," as he says, "to facts as he finds them, without wasting time in commentaries." Facts, data sufficient and correct, seem to have been too little an object of inquiry with many who have written upon these relics of the olden time. Imagination has ranged wider than the eye, and penetrated deeper than the spade and shovel. We think with the author, that "it is time enough to argue a subject of this nature, when all the facts are collected;" and, that "to write volumes about Shem, Ham, and Japhet, in connexion with a few isolated facts, is a most ludicrous, and worse than useless business." A writer visits the remains of one of these fortifications, to examine and describe them. No sooner has he set foot within the half-demolished enclosure, and gazed round on the venerable oaks, that stand like aged sentinels on the time-levelled ramparts, or climbed the neighbouring mound, where repose the dead of an unknown age, the warriors who once battled on the plain around him, than fancy peoples anew the scene before him with another race of beings. He beholds in imagination the marshalled hosts of the long-revolted children of Abraham, or sees the stately march of the invincible Roman, as his cohorts file through the narrow opening in the now half-levelled wall. The perplexing problem is solved; the mystery is all revealed; and, after collecting a few fragments of earthenware, and a

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piece or two of copper, he returns, satisfied with his investigations, to communicate their result to the world.

Our remarks have, of course, no application to those who have entered this field in the true spirit of philosophical investigation, using their eyes and their spades together, instead of allowing their imaginations to run riot amongst sites of cities, mounds, fortifications, swords, and medals. A few individuals have examined parts of these monuments, such as mounds, fortifications, wells, &c. with much faithfulness, and have accurately and minutely described them. Mr. Jefferson excavated one of these mounds or barrows, which was situated in his neighbourhood, near the site of an Indian town. It was of a spheroidal form of about forty feet in diameter at the base, and had been of about twelve feet altitude, though then reduced by the plough to seven and a half, having been under cultivation ten or twelve years. Before this, it had been covered with trees of twelve inches diameter, and there was around its base an excavation of five feet depth and width, from which the earth had been taken to form the hillock. In this mound Mr. Jefferson found great quantities of human bones, which, from their position, appeared to have been thrown or piled there promiscuously together; bones of the head and feet being in contact; "some vertical, some oblique, some horizontal, and directed to every point of the compass." These bones, when exposed to the air, crumbled to dust. Some of the skulls, jaw-bones, and teeth, were taken out in a nearly perfect state, but fell to pieces on being examined. This assemblage of bones Mr. Jefferson judged to have been made up from persons of all ages, and collected at different periods of time. The mound was composed of alternate strata of bones, stones, and earth. The Indians, as the same author states, have a custom of collecting together, at certain periods, the bones of their deceased friends, and depositing them together in this manner. "But," he observes, "on whatever occasion they may have been made, they are of considerable notoriety among the Indians; for a party passing, about thirty years ago, through the part of the country where this barrow is, went through the woods directly to it, without any instructions or inquiry, and, having stayed about it some time, with expressions which were construed to be those of sorrow, they returned to the high road, which they had left, about a half a dozen miles, to pay this visit, and pursued their journey."

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In these *tumuli* are usually found, with the bones, such instruments only as appear to have been connected with the superstitious rites of the entombed, or to have been used for ornaments, as weapons of the chase, or of war. Of the latter none more formidable have been discovered, which can be supposed to have been deposited before the arrival of Europeans in America, than tomahawks, spears, and arrow-heads.

The number of these mounds and fortifications, scattered over the south and west, has been variously estimated by different writers. Mr. Brackenridge supposes there may be three thousand; and Mr. Drake thinks it would not exceed the bounds of probability to estimate them at double that number. "The plough, excavations, and levellings for towns, roads, and various other works, have entirely destroyed hundreds of them, which had never been described, and whose sites cannot now be ascertained." Great numbers are believed to have been destroyed by the changing of the courses of rivers.

"There are various opinions about the uses for which these ancient remains were constructed. While some of them are too much like modern fortifications to admit of a doubt of their having been used for defences, others, nearly similar in design, from their situation, entirely exclude the adoption of such an opinion. Hence we find four kinds of remains formed of earth; two kinds of mounds or barrows, and two which have been viewed as fortifications. The barrows or burial piles are distinguished by such as contain articles which were inhumed with the dead, and those which do not contain them. From what cause they differ in this respect, it is difficult to determine. Some have supposed the former to contain bones only of warriors, but in such mounds the bones of infants are found, and hence that hypothesis is overthrown; and indeed an hypothesis can scarcely be raised upon any one matter concerning them, without almost a positive assurance that it has been created to be destroyed.

"As a specimen of the contents of the mounds generally, the following may be taken; being such as Dr. Drake found in those he examined. — 1. Cylindrical stones, such as jasper, rock-crystal, and granite; with a groove near one end. 2. A circular piece of cannel coal, with a large opening in the centre, as though made for the reception of an axis; and a deep groove in the circumference, suitable for a band. 3. A small article of the same shape, but composed of polished argillaceous earth.

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4. A bone, ornamented with several curved lines, supposed by some to be hieroglyphics. 5. A sculptural representation of the head and beak of some rapacious bird. 6. Lumps of lead ore. 7. Isinglass, (mica membranacea.) This article is very common in mounds, and seems to have been held in high estimation among the people that constructed them; but we know not that modern Indians have any particular attachment to it. A superior article, though much like it, was also in great esteem among the ancient Mexicans. 8. Small pieces of sheet-copper, with perforations. 9. Larger oblong pieces of the same metal, with longitudinal grooves and ridges. 10. Beads, or sections of small hollow cylinders, apparently of bone or shell. 11. Teeth of carnivorous animals. 12. Large marine shells, belonging, perhaps, to the genus buccinum; cut in such a manner as to serve for domestic utensils. These, and also the teeth of animals, are generally found almost entirely decomposed, or in a state resembling chalk. 13. Earthenware. This seems to have been made of the same material as that employed by the Indians of Louisiana, within our recollection, viz. pounded muscle and other river shells, and earth. Some perfect articles have been found, but they are rare. Pieces, or fragments, are very common. Upon most of them, confused lines are traced, which doubtless had some meaning; but no specimen has yet been found, having glazing upon it like modern pottery. Some entire vases, of most uncouth appearance, have been found. Mr. Atwater of Ohio, who has pretty fully described the western antiquities, gives an account of a vessel, which seems to have been used as a jug. It was found in an ancient work on Cany Fork, on Cumberland River, about four feet below the surface. The body of the vessel is made by three heads, all joined together at their backs. From these places of contact a neck is formed, which rises about three inches above the heads. The orifice of this neck is near two inches in diameter, and the three necks of the heads form the legs of the vessel on which it stands when upright. The heads are all of a size, being about four inches from the top to the chin. The faces, at the eyes, are about three inches broad, which increase in breadth all the way to the chin." — Book I. chap. iv. p. 41.

The works, called fortifications, are next considered particularly, and the largest and most remarkable of them described. They are very numerous, and are of many different figures, though generally regular. Some are square, others oblong, trapezoidal, circular, &c. They differ equally in area; some containing only a few rods, and others twenty,

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forty, and even more than a hundred acres. They are constructed mostly of common earth, or of clay; and some of silicious limestone, and undressed freestone, laid up without mortar or cement of any sort. We will extract the descriptions of a few of these curious works of unknown hands.

"At Piqua, on the western side of the Great Miami, there is a circular wall of earth, enclosing a space of about 100 feet in diameter, with an opening on the side most remote from the river. The adjacent hill, at the distance of half a mile, and at the greater elevation of about a hundred feet, is the site of a stone wall, nearly circular, and enclosing perhaps twenty acres. The valley of the river on one side, and a deep ravine on the other, render the access to three fourths of this fortification extremely difficult. The wall was carried generally along the brow of the hill, in one place descending a short distance so as to include a spring. The silicious limestone, of which it was built, must have been transported from the bed of the river, which, for two miles opposite these works, does not at present afford one of ten pounds' weight. They exhibit no marks of the hammer, or any other tool. The wall was laid up without mortar, and is now in ruins." — *Ibid.*

Similar remains are very numerous at Marietta, and in its vicinity, at the confluence of the Ohio and Muskingum; but these have been so often described, as to be familiar to every reader.

"Of first importance are doubtless the works upon the Scioto. The most magnificent is situated twenty-six miles south from Columbus, and consists of two nearly exact figures, a circle and a square, which are contiguous to each other. A town, having been built within the former, appropriately received the name of Circleville, from that circumstance. According to Mr. Atwater, who has surveyed these works with great exactness and attention, the circle was originally 1138½ feet in diameter, from external parallel tangents, and the square was 907½ feet upon a side; giving an area to the latter of 3025 square rods, and to the circle 3739 nearly; both making almost 44 acres. The rampart of the circular fort consists of two parallel walls, which were, at least in the opinion of my author, twenty feet in height, measuring from the bottom of the ditch between the circumvallations, before the town of Circleville was built. 'The inner wall was of clay, taken up probably in the northern part of the fort, where is a low place, and is considerably lower than any other part of

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the work. The outside wall was taken from the ditch which is between these walls, and is alluvial, consisting of pebbles worn smooth in water and sand, to a very considerable depth, more than fifty feet at least.' At the time Mr. Atwater wrote his account, (about 1819), the outside of the walls was but about five or six feet high, and the ditch not more than fifteen feet deep. The walls of the square fort were, at the same time, about ten feet high. This fort had eight gateways or openings, about twenty feet broad, each of which was defended by a mound four or five feet high, all within the fort arranged in the most exact manner; equidistant and parallel. The circular fort had but one gateway, which was at its south-east point, and at the place of contact with the square. In the centre of the square was a remarkable mound, with a semicircular pavement, adjacent to its eastern half, and nearly facing the passage way into the square fort. Just without the square fort, upon the north side, and to the east of the centre gateway, rises a large mound. In the opposite point of the compass, without the circular one, is another. These, probably, were places of burial. As the walls of the square lie pretty nearly in a line with the cardinal points of the horizon, some have supposed they were originally projected in strict regard to them, their variation not being more than that of the compass; but a single fact of this kind can establish nothing, as mere accident may have given them such direction. 'What surprised me,' says my authority, 'on measuring these forts, was the exact manner in which they had laid down their circle and square; so that after every effort, by the most careful survey, to detect some error in their measurement, we found that it was impossible.'" — *Ibid.*, p. 43.

At the forks of the Licking river, above Newark, in the county of Licking, are similar remains, in which the same fact is observable respecting the openings into the forts; "the square ones having several, but the round ones only one, with a single exception."

"Not far below Newark, on the south side of the Licking, are found numerous wells or holes in the earth. 'There are,' says Mr. Atwater, 'at least a thousand of them, many of which are now more than twenty feet deep.' Though called wells, my author says they were not dug for that purpose. They have the appearance of being of the same age as the mounds, and were doubtless made by the same people; but for what purpose they could have been made, few seem willing to hazard a conjecture.

"Four or five miles to the northwest of Somerset, in the

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county of Perry, and southwardly from the works on the Licking, is a stone fort, enclosing about 40 acres. Its shape is that of a heart, though bounded by straight lines. In or near its centre is a circular stone mound, which rises like a sugar-loaf from twelve to fifteen feet. Near this large work is another small fort, whose walls are of earth, enclosing but about half an acre. I give these the name of forts, although Mr. Atwater says he does not believe they were ever constructed for defence." — *Ibid.*, p. 44.

The author devotes a few paragraphs to the "Inscription Rocks," as they are termed, which are found in different parts of the country, covered with uncouth figures of men, beasts, birds, rudely carved, with a few zigzag lines, and by some fancied to be attempts at hieroglyphical writing; though to interpret their meaning, or even conjecture the nature of the events supposed to be recorded, has as yet baffled the skill of the learned. The following are his remarks upon the rock near Dighton, called by the people in its vicinity, the "Writing Rock." This rock, by the way, we would here add, is not in the town of Dighton, as it has been usually said to be, (by an inaccuracy which once cost us no small pains and disappointment,) but in Berkley, upon the east side of the Taunton river, which separates that town from the former.

"Among the inscriptions upon stone in New England, the 'Inscribed Rock,' as it is called, at Dighton, Mass., is doubtless the most remarkable. It is in Taunton River, about six miles below the town of Taunton, and is partly immersed by the tide. If this inscription was made by the Indians, it doubtless had some meaning to it; but I doubt whether any of them, except such as happened to know what it was done for, knew any thing of its import. The divers faces, figures of half-formed animals, and zigzag lines, occupy a space of about twenty square feet. The whimsical conjectures of many persons about the origin of the inscription, might amuse, but could not instruct; and it would be a waste of time to give an account of them." — *Ibid.*

Mr. Drake is of the opinion that these inscriptions are the work of the Indians. He closes his chapter on American Antiquities, with a comparison of those of the United States and Mexico, and with some remarks on the supposed Welsh Indians. But we have already dwelt too long on this part of the volume, and must proceed to what constitutes by far the largest and most valuable portion of the work, Indian Biography and History.

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The second and third Books contain biographical sketches of all the principal Indian characters, in those tribes that were known to the English, so far as any record of their lives has come down to us; connecting with the lives of the celebrated chiefs an account of the wars and disturbances that occurred between them and the English.

The second Book commences with a brief account of the conduct of the early voyagers towards the Indians, and mentions a few of those carried by them to Europe. It appears that the first of the American race ever seen in England were three, presented to Henry VII. by Sebastian Cabot, in 1502. These had been brought by him from Newfoundland. They were "clothed with the skins of beasts, and lived on raw flesh; but after two years, [of residence in England,] were seen in the King's court clothed like Englishmen, and could not be discerned from Englishmen." They were brought to the English court "in their country habit," and "spoke a language never heard before out of their own country." The first ever seen in Europe were, of course, those carried by Columbus on his return from his first voyage. Sir Ferdinando Gorges says of three Indians, whom he took into his custody, of a number carried to England from "a river on the coast of America called Pemmaquid," by Captain George Weymouth; "After I had those people some time in my custody, I observed in them an inclination to follow the example of the better sort; and, in all their carriage, manifest shows of great civility, far from the rudeness of our common people." From them he gained much information of the country which he afterwards attempted to colonize; "what goodly rivers, stately islands, and safe harbours, those parts abounded with." And after having kept them "full three years," he made them set him down "what great rivers run up into the land, what men of note were seated on them, what power they were of, how allied, what enemies they had," &c.

In the unjust and shameful conduct of some of the early navigators towards the Indians, may be clearly seen the cause of the hostile disposition which they afterwards manifested, in some instances, towards those who visited the coast; such, for example, as the "flight of arrows" with which they greeted a party of the Pilgrims on their first going on shore upon Cape Cod. Hunt, as Captain John Smith relates, after having traded with the natives on the most friendly terms, "betrayed

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four-and-twenty of those poor salvages aboard his ship, and most dishonestly and inhumanly, for their kind usage of him [Smith, who was in company with Hunt] and all his men, carried them with him to Malaga, and there, for a little private gain, sold these silly salvages for rials of eight." Of this number Squanto, or Tisquantum, is generally supposed to have been, who became so serviceable as interpreter to the Plymouth colony. But Mr. Drake thinks this to be an error; and, on authority which he adduces, shows him to have been one of those carried to England, in 1605, by Captain George Weymouth, who had been sent out to discover a northwest passage. This opinion accounts more easily for the return of Squanto to New England. He is supposed to have been one of the three before mentioned by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who gives their names; one of which is "*Tasquantum.*"

Henry Hudson, in sailing up the river that bears his name, having one of his men mortally wounded by an arrow, shot by an Indian, whom, judging by his subsequent conduct towards them, he probably first provoked, seized some of the natives, and, during his intercourse with them, frequently fired upon the canoes that came out to meet him. This he did, erroneously supposing that every canoe that came armed had hostile designs upon him. One Indian, who had contrived to climb up the rudder, and take from the cabin, which he entered by the window, "a pillow, two shirts, and two bandoleers," the mate "shot in the breast and killed." "Many others," says the authority quoted by Mr. Drake, — the Journal of Robert Juet, one of Hudson's company, — "were in canoes about the ship, who immediately fled, and some jumped overboard. A boat manned from the ship pursued them, and coming up with one in the water, he laid hold of the side of the boat, and endeavoured to overset it; at which one in the boat cut off his hands with a sword, and he was drowned." This was cold barbarity. The navigator should have considered the wide disparity between the ideas of justice in the mind of the simple child of the forest, and of the enlightened European.

In 1611, Captain Edward Harlow, who was sent "to discover an Ile supposed about Cape Cod," detained "three salvages aboord," one of whom soon leaped overboard and escaped; "and not long afterwards cut their boat from their sterne, got her on shore, and so filled her with sand and guarded her with bowes and arrowes, the English lost her."

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"This exploit of Pechmo is as truly brave as it was daring. To have got under the stern of a ship, in the face of armed men, and at the same time to have succeeded in his design of cutting away and carrying off their boat, was an act as bold and daring, to say the least, as that performed in the harbour of Tripoli by our countryman Decatur."

We are disposed to think that the ordnance of the ship could not have been very heavy, or that the disposition of the commander must have been more humane than that of Hudson, to have allowed a few Indians, with their bows and arrows, to keep a whole ship's company at bay, and finally oblige them to relinquish their boat.

We have presented these facts to show that the early hostility and jealousy manifested by some of the Indians towards the English, were caused by the provocations given by the latter.

In the second Book, we find, among a great number of others less distinguished, the lives of Massassoit, Canonicus, Miantonnimoh, Ninigret, Uncas, Sassacus, and Mononotto, with an account of the Praying Indians; and, in connexion with the lives of Sassacus and Mononotto, a history of the Pequot war.

The name of Massassoit, the firm friend and faithful ally of the Pilgrims, can never be pronounced by a New Englander, without a mingled feeling of love and veneration. That singular combination of talent, which could inspire awe and attachment in the minds of his subjects, and enable him, in mildness and peace, to sway the rude sceptre of authority over so many untaught savages, and to keep together in harmony so many fierce and warlike clans, whose infancy had been hushed to the notes of the war-whoop, may well excite admiration. Powhattan, Pontiac, Tecumseh, Black Hawk, and others, have united and swayed many and powerful tribes; but theirs was a temporary union in an emergency of war. Nor are we less struck with the traits of his character, displayed in all his dealings with the English; his noble and dignified generosity, in giving to the settlers land which he refused to sell; his faithful and scrupulous adherence to the treaty which he voluntarily entered into with the Plymouth colony; the repeated instances of his sincere and personal friendship for the English to whom he had professed it; and, in all, never for once forgetting his character as an independent sovereign, and the original lord of

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the soil, or feeling that he was to be treated otherwise than "as a king." In reply to Roger Williams, who, in virtue of a purchase of the Narragansetts, claimed a part of the territory which Massassoit considered to be within his original transfer to the Plymouth colony, "It is *mine*," said the sachem, "it is mine, and *therefore theirs*;" implying that the original title came from him.

As the life and character of this sachem have been treated of at length, in a former number of this journal,* we shall not enter into a consideration of it; but content ourselves with giving an additional fact respecting his life, and the conduct of the Plymouth court towards him, which we met with a short time since in the Old Colony Records,† but which is not mentioned by any historian, not even by Mr. Drake. This was an assault made upon the sachem, in 1646, by "William Cheesborrow of Seacunck alius Rehoboth, and some others," who were apprehended and punished by the Plymouth court. William Cheesborrow was called "to answer to all such matters as on his Majesty's behalf should be objected against him concerning an affray made upon Ussamequin and some of his people;" and, for this offence and for a succeeding one of "breach of imprisonment," was sentenced "to be imprisoned fourteen days without bayle or mainprize, and to pay six pounds fine to the Colonies." One of his associates in the offence, "Thomas Hitt, of Rehoboth, for taking part with Cheesborrow in the affray made upon Ussamequin and his men, is fined twenty shillings." We have inserted the above facts, because it has been frequently stated that the complaints of the Indians against the whites were never heard in the courts of the English, while the offences of the Indians against them were rigorously punished. This, it is probable, was sometimes the case; but we believe it will be found, on a minute examination, that the colony of Plymouth, at least, was not wanting in respect for the rights of the Indians. But for the evidence of the above assault, we had supposed that even the vilest of the colonists too much respected their benevolent and venerable ally, to touch a hair of the "good old Massassoit."

Contemporary with Massassoit, and not inferior to him in the sterner and nobler virtues of the savage character, was

* See North American Review, No. LXXIII., for October, 1831.
† Old Colony Records, Vol. II. pp. 131, 132, 138.

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Canonicus, the great and powerful sachem of the Narragansetts. This tribe, or rather confederacy, like that of the Pokanokets, was composed of various small tribes, inhabiting a large part of the territory which now constitutes the State of Rhode Island. The chiefs of Block Island and a part of Long Island were their tributaries, or in some way subject to them. According to Gookin, "the territories of their sachem extended about thirty or forty miles from Sekunk River and Narragansitt Bay, including Rhode Island and other islands in that bay." Pawcatuck River separated them from the Pequots. This nation was estimated by Richard Smith, jr., who with his father lived in their country, to contain, in 1642, a population of thirty thousand. So late as Philip's war, they were able to raise two thousand warriors, one half of whom were provided with English arms; and it is said that they could formerly muster twice that number. Like the other tribes of North America, their chief employment had been war; which from time immemorial they had carried on, with both the Pokanokets on the east, and the Pequots, and perhaps the Mohawks, on the west. About the year 1766, a catalogue was made of the remains of this once powerful tribe, by Mr. Samuel Drake, who resided fourteen years among them in the capacity of a schoolmaster; and this contained the names of three hundred and fifteen persons. A census of those calling themselves Narragansetts, taken in 1832, gave their number at three hundred and fifteen; only seven of whom were of unmixed blood.

"Of the early times of this nation, some of the first English inhabitants learned from the old Indians, that they had, previous to their arrival, a sachem named Tashtassuck; and their encomiums upon his wisdom and valor were much the same as the Delawares reported of their great chief Tamany; that since there had not been his equal, &c. Tashtassuck had but two children, a son and a daughter; these he joined in marriage, because he could find none worthy of them out of his family. The product of this marriage was four sons, of whom Canonicus was the oldest." — Book II. chap. iv. p. 54.

This account, however, for which he refers to Hutchinson, who met with it in manuscript, the author does not receive with implicit faith, considering it, "at best, a tradition."

A confusion has been introduced by some of our earlier

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historians, respecting the particular chieftain who governed the Narragansetts, at the date of the first intercourse between them and the English. Governor Hutchinson, for instance, speaks in one place of Canonicus as their chief sachem; and, in another, alluding to the death of Miantonomo, while the former was yet living, observes that "although they had *lost their chief sachem*, yet they had divers other stout ones, as *Canonicus*, Pessacus, and others."

The ambiguity arose, probably, from the circumstance, that Canonicus, in consequence of age, or for other reasons, associated with himself in the government, soon after the arrival of the English, his nephew Miantonomo. They are said to have governed in great harmony, consulting each other, as we see in the case of sending aid with Captain Mason against the Pequots, on all important occasions. "Their chiefest government in the country," says Roger Williams, (Key to the Indian Language,) "is divided between a younger sachem, Miantunnamu, and an elder sachem, Caunaunacus, of about fourscore years old, this young man's uncle; and their agreement in the government is remarkable. The old sachem will not be offended at what the young sachem doth; and the young sachem will not do what he conceives will displease his uncle."

Another error, committed by Hubbard, has misled, or rather perplexed some. There was a chief of the same name in Philip's war, (perhaps a younger son of the Canonicus of whom we have been speaking,) who is denominated by Hubbard "the great sachem of the Narragansetts." This sachem, according to that author, "distrusting the proffers of the English, was slain in the woods by the Mohawks, his squaw surrendering herself; by this means her life was spared."

The first notice we meet with of Canonicus, is in February, 1622; when, jealous of the alliance of the English with his ancient enemy, Massassoit, he despatched to Plymouth the laconic and significant challenge to hostilities, a bundle of arrows bound with a rattlesnake's skin. The skin was returned with the equally appropriate reply, powder and ball. This answer, accompanied with the threats of the governor, and the assurance that whenever he should choose to come, he would find the English prepared to meet him, awed the sachem into silence, and made him content to live in peace with his new neighbours. The snake-skin was returned un-

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opened, the sachem not allowing it to be brought into his house; fearing, as it is said, that it contained the *plague;* a pestilence, whose deadly havoc, a few years before the arrival of the English, had nearly depopulated the greater part of Massachusetts, and whose effects might still be traced by the bones that whitened the favorite hunting and fishing grounds of the Indians.

In 1632, he made an attack on Massassoit, who fled to an English house at Sowams, sending despatches to Plymouth for assistance. Standish was on the alert; but was saved a contest by the sudden retreat of Canonicus, occasioned by a rumor that the Pequots were invading his own territory. This rumor proved to be well grounded.

"In 1632, a war broke out between the Narragansetts and the Pequots, on account of disputed right to the lands between Pancatuck River and Wecapang Brook. It was a tract of considerable consequence, being about ten miles wide, and fifteen long. Canonicus drew along with him, besides his own men, several of the Massachusetts sagamores. This land was maintained with ferocity and various success, until 1635, when the Pequots were driven from it; but who, it would seem, considered themselves but little worsted. For Canonicus, doubting his ability to hold possession long, and ashamed to have it retaken from him, made a present of it to one of his captains, who had fought heroically in conquering it; but he never had possession. However, after the Pequots were subdued by the English, these lands were possessed by the Narragansetts again." — *Ibid.*, pp. 56, 57.

When Roger Williams had learned that Seekonk, the asylum granted him by Massassoit, was forbidden ground, being within the limits of the Plymouth patent, still buoyed up by the hope of yet finding a resting-place, he crossed the river and threw himself upon the mercy of Canonicus. Here he was welcomed with the kind *What cheer?* and treated with the same noble generosity with which the Pilgrims had been treated by the benevolent sachem of the Wampanoags. At first, indeed, Canonicus is said to have looked with a little suspicion upon the motives of the stranger; wondering, perhaps, why an Englishman could not be permitted to dwell with his brethren. His suspicions, probably, arose, in part, from the fact of his subjects having recently suffered much from a sweeping epidemic, which they supposed had been sent among them by the whites. "At my first coming among them,"

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writes Roger Williams, "Caunounicus (*morosus æque ac barbarus senex*) was very sour, and accused the English and myself of sending the plague among them, and threatening to kill *him* especially." Soon, however, as his jealousies were removed, he received the exile with a generosity that might have done honor to an emperor, and ought certainly to have put to the blush the governors of Massachusetts and Plymouth. He gave him and his followers all "the neck of land lying between the mouths of Pawtucket and Moshasuck rivers, that they might sit down in peace upon it, and enjoy it for ever." Mr. Williams says, in a deposition which he gave about fifty years afterwards, "I declare to posterity, that were it not for the favor that God gave me with Caunounicus, none of these parts, no, not Rhode Island, had been purchased or obtained, for I never got any thing of Caunounicus but by gift." "And I desire posterity to see the gracious hand of the Most High, that when the hearts of my countrymen and friends and brethren failed me, his infinite wisdom and merits stirred up the barbarous heart of Caunounicus to love me as his own son to his last gasp."

"In a grave assembly upon a certain occasion, Canonicus thus addressed Roger Williams; 'I have never suffered any wrong to be offered to the English since they landed, nor never will;' and often repeated the word *wunnaunewaycan*, which signified faithfulness. 'If the Englishman speak true, if he mean truly, then shall I go to my grave in peace, and hope that the English and my posterity shall live in love and peace together.' When Mr. Williams said he hoped he had no cause to question the Englishman's *wunnaumwaûonck*, that is, faithfulness, having long been acquainted with it, Canonicus took a stick, and breaking it into ten pieces, related ten instances wherein they had proved false; laying down a piece at each instance. Mr. Williams satisfied him that he was mistaken in some of them, and as to others, he agreed to intercede with the governor, who, he doubted not, would make satisfaction for them."—*Ibid.*, p. 56.

When Oldham was murdered by Indians near Block Island, the English sent a deputation to Canonicus, to ascertain the facts in the case, and to make a close investigation as to whether he or Miantonomo had in any way been accessary to the crime. The messengers were fully satisfied that neither of them had any hand in the affair, but that "the six other Narraganset sachems had." "They returned with ac-

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ceptance and good success of their business; observing in the sachem much state, great command of his men, and marvellous wisdom in his answers, and in the carriage of the whole treaty, clearing himself and his neighbours of the murder, and offering revenge of it, yet upon very safe and wary conditions."

In 1636, when the Pequots had formed the design of exterminating the English, by exciting all the Indian tribes around them to make common cause against the intruders, they applied to Canonicus and Miantonomo, their old and inveterate enemies, to join them, and thus serve their country. This proposition must have put their patriotism to a severe test. No light struggle could it have cost the proud and haughty Sassacus, to extend the hand of friendship to his equally stern and implacable foe of the Narragansetts. Canonicus and Miantonomo are said to have wavered on this occasion. On the one hand was the prospect of an ultimate triumph over the English; on the other, the gratification of present revenge on the Pequots, by suffering them to be finally destroyed by the forces of the colonies. But the feuds of centuries were not to be so easily smothered; and the love of revenge prevailed. This result was probably aided greatly by their friendship for Roger Williams, and the influence he was able to exert over them. Miantonomo informed him of the application, who forthwith communicated the intelligence to Governor Winthrop. The governor immediately invited Miantonomo to pay him a visit at Boston, where a treaty of amity was concluded between the sachem and the English, by which the Narragansetts were to aid them against the Pequots. Without securing the friendship of the former, the English would hardly have dared to make war upon "the great and mighty Pequots." This tribe, it is known, was soon after nearly extirpated.

Canonicus continued friendly to the English to the end of his days; though he is said, as justly he might, to have "frowned upon them," from the time that he learned of their treachery* towards Miantonomo, in delivering him to die by the tomahawk of Uncas. The venerable sachem died,

* For some considerations, however, throwing a different light upon this business, see Judge Davis's learned edition of Morton's *Memorial*, as referred to in North American Review, Vol. XXV., p. 212.

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according to Governor Winthrop, June 4th, 1647, "a very old man." He is generally supposed to have been about eighty-five years of age. He is mentioned with great respect by Roger Williams, in a letter to the governor of Massachusetts, in 1654, when, after stating that many hundreds of the English were witnesses to the friendly disposition of the Narragansetts, he says; "Their late famous long-lived Caunounicus so lived and died, and in the same most honorable manner and solemnity, (in their way), as you laid to sleep your prudent peace-maker, Mr. Winthrop, did they honor this their prudent and peaceable prince; yea, through all their towns and countries how frequently do many and oft times our Englishmen travel alone with safety and loving kindness!"

In connexion with Canonicus we had designed to sketch the life and character of the brave and high-souled Miantonomo, his nephew, and associate in authority; whose melancholy fate, when contrasted with the nobleness of his nature, and the many proofs of his friendship to the English, furnishes the passage the most painful to contemplate in the history of the eastern tribes. But as our limits will not permit us, we must refer our readers to the interesting account given of him by Mr. Drake.

We have devoted so much space to the first part of this volume, that we shall be compelled to pass hastily over the remainder, although it is the greater portion, and replete with interest in every page, to those who would study the Indian character and history; contenting ourselves with giving little more than a brief synopsis of the contents.

The third Book concludes the history of the New England Indians. It commences with the life of Alexander and Namumpum, afterwards called Weetamoo, the squaw-sachem of Pocasset, who appears to have been, for a time, his wife. Weetamoo was described to be "as potent a prince as any round about her, and to have as much corn, land, and men, at her command." In her union with Alexander, she retained her independence in the possession and management of her dominion. Under the impression that her husband had been poisoned by the authorities of Plymouth, as the cause of his early and sudden death, she espoused the cause of Philip, at the commencement of his war, and in the event, shared his fate. She was drowned, August 6, 1676, in Tehticut river, in Metapoiset, (a part of Swansey), in attempting to cross

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over on a raft to Pocasset, now Tiverton. Her head was cut off, and set upon a pole at Taunton. Many of her tribe, that were there prisoners, were compelled to witness the spectacle; who, according to Mather, "made a most horrid and diabolical lamentation, crying out that it was their queen's head."

To these succeed the biography of Philip, with those of his principal captains and confederates, and a history of the war in which he fell. His Indian name, as it has been usually written, Metacom or Metacomet, Mr. Drake has discovered to be an abridgment of his real name, *Pometacom.*

"In regard to the native or Indian name of Philip, it seems a mistake has always prevailed, in printed accounts. *Pometacom* gives as near its Indian sound as can be approached by our letters. The first syllable was dropped in familiar discourse, and hence, in a short time, no one imagined but that it had always been so; in nearly every original deed executed by him, which we have seen, — and they are many, — his name so appears. It is true that, in those of different years, it is spelt with some little variation, all which, however, conveyed very nearly the same sound. The variations are *Pumatacom*, *Pamatacom*, *Pometacome*, and *Pometacom;* the last of which prevails in the records.

"We have another important discovery to communicate; it is no other than the name of the wife of Pometacom, the innocent *Wootonekanuske!* This was the name of her, who, with her little son, fell into the hands of Captain Church. No wonder that Philip was "now ready to die," as some of his traitorous men told Church, and that "his heart was now ready to break!" All that was dear to him was now swallowed up in the vortex! But they still lived, and this most harrowed his soul; lived for what? to serve as slaves in an unknown land! Could it be otherwise than that madness should seize upon him, and despair torment him in every place? that in his sleep he should hear the anguishing cries and lamentations of Wootonekanuske and his son?" * * * — Book III. chap. ii. p. 13.

In the number of "Philip's captains," as they are termed by our author, we meet with the name of Anawan, who had been the companion and counsellor of Massassoit, and was "Philip's great captain in the war"; and whose surprise and capture by Church, at Rehoboth, forms an act of single-handed prowess among the most distinguished in our history. The rock, which was the place of this capture, is still known by

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the name of "Anawan's Rock," and is pointed out to the traveller from Taunton to Providence; an enormous pile, about twenty-five feet high and seventy feet long, on a sort of peninsula, on the border of a large swamp,* by which it is rendered difficult of access except on one side.

Here, too, we find the brave and haughty Canonchet, or Nanuntenoo, the son of Miantonomo, who, according to Hubbard, was "heir to all his father's pride and insolency, as well as his malice against the English." When some of the Wampanoags, who had taken refuge in his country, were demanded by the English, he is said to have replied haughtily, that "he would not deliver up a Wampanoag, nor the paring of a Wampanoag's nail." When taken by Captain Dennison, on the Blackstone River, a few miles above Pawtucket, in reply to a young Englishman who ventured to ask him some questions respecting his conduct, he said, in broken English, looking with a little neglect upon his youthful face, "You much child! no understand matters of war! let your brother or your chief come, him I will answer." He was carried to Stonington, Ct. and sentenced to die. When told of his sentence, he said, "I like it well; I shall die before my heart is soft, or I have said any thing unworthy of myself." He was shot under the eye of Dennison, at Stonington, and the friendly Indians were his executioners.

The remainder of the third Book is occupied with a history of the Eastern Indians, as the Penobscots, Tarranteens, &c.; and though not surpassed in interest by any other portion of the volume, our limits preclude us from giving it even a passing notice.

In the fourth Book, the author has given historical and biographical sketches of the Southern Indians; in which division he includes all the tribes that inhabited, or still inhabit, "beyond the Chesapeake and some of its tributaries" on the east, the Mississippi on the west, and the southern cape of Florida on the south. Some of the principal tribes embraced in this division, are the Powhattans, Manahoacs, and Monacans, or Tuscaroras, conspicuous in the early history of

* This swamp was described by Mr. Drake, in his edition of Philip's War, as containing *three thousand* acres, which error has been repeated in the "Book of the Indians," and, from the earliest editions, copied by other writers. It contains only about *one third* that space. See "History of Rehoboth," p. 109, where the above error is noticed.

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Virginia and the Carolinas; and the existing, but injured, provoked, and fast-wasting tribes of the Creeks, Cherokees, Choctaws, and Seminoles. The origin and events of the Seminole war, now in progress, are minutely detailed, to the time of the printing of the volume; as also the late disturbances among the Creeks.

The English, in their early voyages to Virginia and their fruitless attempts to plant a colony there, met with three sachems, Wingina, Menatonon, and Granganemeo, of whom a few anecdotes are preserved.

"Wingina was first known to the English voyagers, Amidas and Barlow, who landed in Virginia in the summer of 1584, upon an island, called by the Indians Wokokon. They saw none of the natives until the third day, when three were observed in a canoe. One of them got on shore, and the English went to him. He showed no signs of fear, 'but spoke much to them,' then went boldly on board the vessels. After they had given him a shirt, hat, wine, and some meat, 'he went away, and in half an hour he had loaded his canoe with fish,' which he immediately brought, and gave to the English.

"Wingina, at this time, was confined to his cabin from wounds which he had lately received in battle, probably in his war with Piamacum, a desperate and bloody chief." * * * "He never had much faith in the good intentions of the English, and to him was mainly attributed the breaking up of the first colony which settled in Virginia." — Book IV. chap. i. p. 4.

He was first excited against the English by an outrage committed upon the natives by Sir Richard Greenvil, who had come to the country on a trading expedition.

"He made but one short excursion into the country, during which, by foolishly exposing his commodities, some native took from him a silver cup, to revenge the loss of which, a town was burned. He left a hundred and eight men, who seated themselves upon the Island of Roanoke. Ralph Lane, a military character of note, was governor, and Captain Philip Amidas, lieutenant-governor of this colony. They made various excursions about the country, in hopes of discovering mines of precious metals; in which they were a long time duped by the Indians, for their ill conduct towards them, in compelling them to pilot them about. Wingina bore, as well as he could, the provocations of the intruders, until the death of the old chief Ensenore, his father. Under pretence of honoring his funeral, he assembled eighteen hundred of his people, with the intention, as the

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English say, of destroying them. They, therefore, upon the information of Skiko, son of the chief Menatonon, fell upon them, and, after killing five or six, the rest made their escape into the woods. This was done upon the island where Wingina lived, and the English first seized upon the boats of his visitants, to prevent their escape from the island, with the intention, no doubt, of murdering them all. Not long after, Wingina was entrapped by the English, and slain, with eight of his chief men.'" — *Ibid.*

Menatonon, sachem of a powerful nation possessing all the country from Albemarle Sound and Chowan River to the Chesapeake and James Bays, was made a prisoner by the English to assist them in their discoveries; and, in compensation for this treatment, he deluded them with the hope of finding a gold mine, which he pretended to have knowledge of. "So eager were they," says Stith, "and resolutely bent upon this golden discovery, that they could not be persuaded to return, as long as they had one pint of corn] a man left, and two mastiff dogs, which, being boiled with sassafras leaves, might afford them some sustenance in their way back." After great suffering they again reached the coast, where they released Menatonon. After his liberation, he treated the English with uniform kindness. Two years after, when Governor White visited the country, the wife and child of the chief are mentioned, but nothing is said of him.

"Granganemeo was a chief very favorably spoken of. As soon as the arrival of the English was made known to him, he visited them with about forty of his men, who were very civil, and of a remarkably robust and fine appearance. When they had left their boat, and came upon the shore near the ship, Granganemeo spread a mat and sat down upon it. The English went to him armed, but he discovered no fear, and invited them to sit down; after which he performed some tokens of friendship; then making a speech to them, they presented him with some toys. None but four of his people spoke a word or sat down, but maintained the most perfect silence. On being shown a pewter dish, he was much pleased with it, and purchased it with twenty deer-skins, which were worth, in England, one hundred shillings sterling!! The dish he used as an ornament, making a hole through it, and wearing it about his neck. While here, the English entertained him, with his wife and children, on board their ship. His wife had in her ears strings of pearl, which reached to her middle. Shortly after, many of the people

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came out of the country to trade; but when Granganemeo was present, none durst trade but himself, and them that wore red copper on their heads as he did. He was remarkably exact in keeping his promise, 'for oft we trusted him, and he would come within his day to keep his word.' And these voyagers further report, that 'commonly he sent them every day a brace of bucks, conies, hares, and fish, and sometimes melons, walnuts, cucumbers, pease, and divers roots.'" — *Ibid.*, p. 6.

Captain Amidas and some of his men afterwards returned the visit of the sachem. He was living on the Island of Roanoke, in "a little town of nine houses." The chief was absent; but his wife entertained them in the generous and liberal spirit of genuine Indian hospitality. She ordered their boat to be drawn up out of the reach of the surge, and their oars to be housed, to prevent their being stolen. "When they came into the house, she took off their cloathes and stockings, and washed them, as likewise their feet, in warm water. When their dinner was ready, they were conducted into an inner room, (for there were five in the house divided by mats,) where they found hominy, boiled venison, and roasted fish; and, as a desert, melons, boiled roots, and fruits of various sorts. While they were at meat, two or three of her men came in with their bows and arrows, which made the English take to their arms. But she, perceiving their distress, ordered their bows and arrows to be broken, and themselves to be beaten out of the gate." At evening the English put off from the shore, a short distance, and lay at anchor. This movement much distressed the kind-hearted queen, who "sent their supper to them; and, seeing their distrust, ordered a guard to keep watch upon the shore during the night. She also sent them five mats to cover them from the weather."

We next meet with an account of Powhatan; the romantic and daring adventures of Captain John Smith; and the eventful history of the heroic and high-souled Pocahontas. But these are familiar themes. The universal sympathy of mankind has reared to the memory of Pocahontas a monument as enduring as the human heart's reverence for virtue.

In connexion with the history of the Seminole Indians, the author, as we have before remarked, has treated of the grounds of the war now waging between the United States and that tribe. A subject of such extent demands a separate discussion, to do it any justice. But a few statements, relating to

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the condition of the tribe, and to events which prepared the way for the present contest, will not be unacceptable to our readers.

The Seminole Indians are remnants of, and wanderers from, other tribes, principally the Spanish Florida Indians, the upper Creeks or Muscogee, and the Micosukee; from which circumstance they received from the neighbouring tribes their name, which means *Runaway*. The Micosukee, though a small band, are yet described as "the most relentless and ferocious of all, more bent on warring with their neighbours than pursuing the hunt. They seriously harassed General Jackson during his campaign in 1818–1819, and were the last to be subdued. Having burned their villages west of the Suwannee river and made great havoc among them, he drove the remnant of their tribe to the east of that river, when they became incorporated with the Seminoles." The force of the Micosukees, at the commencement of the present war, is estimated at four hundred warriors; that of the Creek and Spanish Indians at nine hundred; and the negroes, at between five and six hundred, making the available force of the Seminoles at that time, between eighteen and nineteen hundred warriors. The Muscogee, or Creek portion of the tribe, fled from their nation, and took up their abode with the Florida Indians, in the years 1814 and 1818. The negroes among them are mostly slaves, and employed by them in agriculture. The number of the principal chiefs who have been engaged in the present war, is eleven; that of the sub-chiefs, nineteen; and, of the friendly chiefs, who were in favor of recognising the validity of the treaty of 1832, and conforming to its requisitions, seven.

A treaty was made with the Seminoles, on the 18th of September, 1823, at Camp Moultrie, of which the following are the principal features; "The Seminole Indians relinquished all their claim to lands in Florida, with the exception of a tract, estimated to contain about five millions of acres, within the limits of which they bound themselves to continue. The United States were to pay the Indians two thousand dollars; to aid them in the removal of their families and stock from their respective towns to the new reservation; to furnish them with articles of husbandry, stock, &c. to the amount of six thousand dollars; to furnish them with corn, meat, and salt, for one year after they were collected within the limits assigned them; to pay

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them four thousand five hundred dollars for the improvements which they surrendered with their lands; to allow them one thousand dollars per annum for a blacksmith, and one thousand dollars per annum for a school fund; these two last allowances to be made for twenty successive years."

In less than a year after the ratification of this treaty, complaints to the authorities began to be frequent, of depredations by Indians on the property of the whites in their vicinity. The Indians, on the contrary, with too much appearance of truth, retorted that these depredations of theirs were but reprisals of property, first stolen from them by their white neighbours. To this point, as well as to that of the fraud and violence to which they were perpetually exposed from a horde of land pirates, such as commonly prowl around the outskirts of Indian reservations, we have plenty of authorities at hand. But, as our purpose is at present no more than to show what ground was taken by the Indians, we content ourselves with giving part of a paper, of a deliberate and responsible character. It is a letter addressed from ten of the Seminole towns to the commanding officer at Fort Hawkins.

"Since the last war, after you sent us word that we must quit the war, our red people have come over on this side. The white people have carried all the red people's cattle off. Bernard's son was here, and I asked him what to do about it, — he told me to go to the head white man and complain. I did so, but there was no head white man, and there was no law in the case. *The whites first began to steal from us*, and there 's nothing said about that, but great complaints about what the Indians do. It is now three years since white people killed three Indians; and since, they have killed three more; and since, one more. *The white people killed our red people first*, — the Indians took satisfaction. There are three men that the red people have not taken satisfaction for yet. There is nothing said about what white people do, — but all that the Indians do is brought up. The cattle that we are accused of taking, were cattle that the *white people took from us;* our young men went and brought them back with the *same marks and brands*."

The annoyance arising from the proximity of the Indians to the settlements of the whites, and the depredations committed by them, were urged in numerous petitions to the Executive, praying for their removal, at an earlier period than that stipulated in the treaty of Camp Moultrie, which was twenty years.

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These memorials were so far regarded, that a new negotiation was immediately determined upon. This resulted in the treaty of Payne's Landing.

Colonel Gadsden was sent into the nation to negotiate the desired treaty, and, on the 8th of April, 1832, had an interview with Miconopy, the head of the tribe, and a few other chiefs, on the subject of a removal of themselves and people to the west of the Mississippi. Miconopy said, "he wished all his people to hear what their father in Washington had to communicate to them; but their warriors were out on their annual hunt, and many of them in the lower part of the peninsula, one hundred and fifty or two hundred miles from home, so that it would be difficult to collect them immediately. He therefore wished Colonel Gadsden to defer the communication for thirty days." At the expiration of that time, the principal body of the Seminoles assembled by appointment at Payne's Landing, on the Ocklawaha river, where they were met by Colonel Gadsden, on the 8th of May, to negotiate on the subject of his mission. After considerable difficulty he succeeded in obtaining their consent to a treaty, of which the following are the leading features:

"1st. The Seminole Indians to relinquish their claim to the tract of land reserved for them by the second article of the treaty of Camp Moultrie, containing four million thirty-two thousand six hundred and forty acres, and to remove west of the Mississippi, and there become a constituent portion of the Creek tribe.

"2d. The United States to pay the Seminole Indians fifteen thousand and four hundred dollars, as a consideration for the improvements which they abandoned with their lands; and a further sum to the two blacks, Abraham and Cudjoe, of two hundred dollars each.

"3d. Each of the Indians to be furnished with a blanket and a homespun frock, and a sufficient quantity of corn, meat, and salt for their support for one year after their arrival in the new country.

"4th. The blacksmith, provided for in the treaty of Camp Moultrie, to be continued ten years longer, at one thousand dollars per year.

"5th. The United States to pay them an additional annuity of three thousand dollars, for fifteen successive years after their arrival in the west; which sum, together with the four thousand dollars stipulated in the treaty of Camp Moultrie, (making seven thousand dollars per annum) to be paid to the nation with their annuities.

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"6th. In order to relieve the Seminoles from the vexatious demands on them for slaves and other property, the United States stipulated to have the same investigated, and to liquidate such claims as were satisfactorily established, provided the amount did not exceed seven thousand dollars."

This treaty was executed, May 9th, 1832, and signed, on the part of the Indians, by fifteen chiefs. There was, however, connected with the treaty, a most important proviso, which placed its final acceptance or rejection at the option of the Indians. We give it in the words of the commissioner, Colonel Gadsden, in a letter to the Secretary of War.

"There is a condition prefixed to the agreement, without assenting to which the Florida Indians *most positively refused* to negotiate for their removal west of the Mississippi. Even with the condition annexed, there was a reluctance (which with some difficulty was overcome) on the part of the Indians, to bind themselves by *any* stipulations before a knowledge of facts and circumstances would enable them to judge of the advantages or disadvantages of the disposition which the government of the United States wished to make of them. They were finally *induced*, however, to assent to the agreement."

Again, in the same letter, Colonel Gadsden says;

"The final ratification of the treaty will depend upon the opinion of the seven chiefs selected to explore the country west of the Mississippi River. *If* that corresponds to the description given, or is equal to the expectations formed of it, there will be no difficulty on the part of the Seminoles. If the Creeks, however, raise any objections, this will be a sufficient pretext on the part of some of the Seminole deputation to oppose the execution of the whole arrangement for removal."

A delegation of seven chiefs was accordingly deputed by the Seminoles, to visit and explore the country selected for their future residence. This delegation, which had been commissioned only to *explore* the country, and on whose report the final acceptance or rejection of the treaty on the part of the Seminoles was to depend, were met, before they had reported to their nation, by Colonel Gadsden, the writer of the letter just referred to, and other commissioners of the United States, at Fort Gibson, La., on the 28th of March, 1833, and induced to confirm a treaty which the government has held to be binding on the whole Seminole nation. By the stipulations of this treaty, one third of the tribe was to be removed as early as practicable in 1833; but

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it was not ratified on the part of the United States till 1834, when the time specified for the execution of a part of the conditions had elapsed. A similar circumstance, when it occurred between Spain and the United States, in 1819, in the ratification of the treaty for the cession of Florida, was decided by our government to have rendered the first ratification, made by the Senate, inoperative. It was suggested by Governor Eaton, on this occasion, that the precedent ought to be taken as a rule in the case of the treaty of Payne's Landing; as "our Indian compacts were to be construed and controlled by the rules which civilized people practise." The War Department, however, replied; "The question presented in your letter respecting the validity of the obligation of the Seminole Indians to remove from Florida, has been submitted to the Attorney-General, and that officer has decided that the obligation of the treaty is not affected by the delay which has taken place, but that the Indians may be required to remove in the years 1835, 1836, and 1837."

An early ratification of this treaty was pressed upon the government, though upon a different ground, by Colonel Gadsden and others. They were apprehensive, that, if delay occurred in making the necessary appropriation for the removal of one third of the Indians, stipulated to take place in 1833, "serious obstacles might be thrown in the way by a class of evil-disposed persons, whose interest would be injuriously affected by the Indians leaving the country." Two years, as we have before seen, were suffered to elapse before the validity of the treaty was acknowledged, or any appropriations were made. Then, if not before, it was publicly denounced by the Indians as "a white man's treaty," and they declared their determination not to hold themselves bound by it. From that time, we may date the commencement of those excesses which have led to the present war, of which there appears to be little doubt that the treaty of Payne's Landing, and the circumstances immediately connected with it, were the principal cause.

We return to Mr. Drake. His fifth Book contains biographical and historical notices of the Iroquois, or Five Nations, and other neighbouring tribes of the West. Among the distinguished chiefs, whose lives are here related, we meet with the names of Grangula, Logan, Pontiac, Brant, Red-

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Jacket, Tecumseh, and Black Hawk; men whose talents would have rendered them illustrious in any age or nation. But it was their misfortune to fight for a sinking cause, to lift the arm of the weak and oppressed against the stronger oppressor, and bare their breasts to the impending storm, whose gathering blackness should pass away but to reveal the final destruction of their ill-fated race.

The volume contains many noble specimens of Indian eloquence, which we should be glad to cite for our readers; but we must restrict ourselves to a single extract, which may serve to convey some impression of the commanding oratory of Red-Jacket, when roused to put forth the full strength of his genius. We have not selected a speech, but a description of one of his most stirring harangues, written apparently by an eyewitness of the scene.

"The author of the following passage is unknown to us; but, presuming it to be authentic, we quote it. 'More than thirty years * have rolled away since a treaty was held on the beautiful acclivity that overlooks the Canandaigua Lake. The witnesses of the scene will never forget the powers of native oratory. Two days had passed away in negotiation with the Indians for a cession of their lands. The contract was supposed to be nearly completed, when Red-Jacket arose. With the grace and dignity of a Roman senator, he drew his blanket around him, and with a piercing eye surveyed the multitude. All was hushed. Nothing interposed to break the silence, save the gentle rustling of the tree tops, under whose shade they were gathered. After a long and solemn, but not unmeaning pause, he commenced his speech in a low voice and sententious style. Rising gradually with the subject, he depicted the primitive simplicity and happiness of his nation, and the wrongs they had sustained from the usurpations of white men, with such a bold but faithful pencil, that every auditor was soon roused to vengeance, or melted into tears. The effect was inexpressible. But ere the emotions of admiration and sympathy had subsided, the white men became alarmed. They were in the heart of an Indian country, — surrounded by more than ten times their number, who were inflamed by a remembrance of their injuries, and excited to indignation by the eloquence of a favorite chief. Appalled and terrified, the white men cast a cheerless gaze upon the hordes around them. A nod from the chiefs might be the onset of

"* This writer, I conclude, wrote in 1822. I copy it from 'Miscellanies' selected from the Public Journals, by Mr. Buckingham."

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destruction. At this portentous moment, Farmers-Brother interposed. He replied not to his brother chief, but, with a sagacity truly aboriginal, he caused a cessation of the council, introduced good cheer, commended the eloquence of Red-Jacket, and, before the meeting had re-assembled, with the aid of other prudent chiefs, he had moderated the fury of his nation to a more salutary review of the question before them. Suffice it to say, the treaty was concluded, and the Western district, at this day, owes no small portion of its power and influence to the counsels of a savage, in comparison with whom, for genius, heroism, virtue, or any other quality that can adorn the bawble of a diadem, not only George the Fourth and Louis le Désiré, but the German Emperor and Czar of Muscovy, alike dwindle into insignificance.' "— Book V. chap. vi. pp. 104, 105.

The volume contains portraits of several of the distinguished Indian characters, and among the rest those of Red-Jacket and Pocahontas. The two latter are on steel; and the portrait of the princess, which is from a copy of the original, taken in London, in 1616, while she was at the English court, is not ill executed. She was then at the age of twenty-one. The costume is English. Some excellent wood-cuts, partly copies of ancient drawings, and illustrative of Indian scenes and manners, also accompany the volume.

ART. II. — *Sylva Americana; or a Description of the Forest Trees indigenous to the United States, Practically and Botanically considered. Illustrated by more than One Hundred Engravings.* By DANIEL J. BROWNE. Boston. 1832. 8vo. pp. 408.

THE subject of American Forest Trees is one which has long engaged the attention of enlightened European naturalists, and has more especially given rise to the splendid "Sylva" of Francis Andrew Michaux. To this accomplished and liberal-minded Frenchman this country certainly owes a heavy debt of gratitude. If our people, or our rulers, should become awakened to a just sense of the immense value of our forests, before we feel it to our cost by their destruction or serious diminution, it will be owing directly or indirectly more to the

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publication of the "Sylva Americana," than to all other causes together. This work has been faithfully and elegantly translated by our accomplished countryman, Augustus L. Hillhouse. But the style in which the book is printed, both in the original and the translation, and more especially the number and beauty of its colored plates, have rendered it of necessity very expensive, and it consequently has found but few purchasers; a fact the more to be regretted as it was published at the cost of the author, who, we are informed by Mr. Hillhouse, has executed this work at a price ill becoming the modest fortune of a man of letters.

Its descriptions may be found in a much cheaper form in the valuable work, by our fellow-citizen, Daniel J. Browne, the title of which we have placed at the head of this article. Mr. Browne's is a very useful work, executed with great neatness and in a type easily read, and containing, within a very reasonable compass, much authentic information on a most interesting subject. Much originality could not be expected, at the present day, in any treatise on such topics; but Mr. Browne certainly deserves great credit for the extensive research and sound judgment with which he has selected his materials from the best sources, and the agreeable manner in which he has disposed them.

The work is divided into three parts. The first is a treatise on Dendrology, or the structure and growth of trees generally. This portion of the work is of a more scientific and less popular cast than the rest, and may seem at the first view little likely to interest the mere general reader. It is, however, succinct and clear, and will well repay an attentive perusal. The anatomy and physiology of trees are subjects which have been till lately very imperfectly developed, and which we fear receive even now little attention from any class of persons except professed botanists. To become thoroughly versed in these sciences, as in most others, would require the labor of years, but some knowledge of their leading general principles must be deemed essential to any well-educated American, by all who reflect for a moment on the extent and importance of our forests; and we know not where such knowledge could be more cheaply and conveniently procured than from our author.—The next and longest portion of the volume consists in descriptions of the different species of the forest trees of this country, accompanied by neat and distinct

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engravings. These descriptions are taken principally, if not wholly, from the *Sylva* of Michaux; but Mr. Browne has certainly rendered an important public service by placing the valuable information, contained in that rare and splendid book, within the reach of the community generally.

The work concludes with a treatise on the rearing and management of trees. This part abounds in minute and practical directions, which are for the most part sanctioned, to the best of our knowledge, by the precepts and practice of the highest authorities. In short, the volume is one of the best horticultural publications which has issued from the American press; and we cannot but regard its appearance, and that of other valuable productions on the same topics, as highly seasonable at the present period.

If this country has been highly distinguished in any respect by the bounty of nature, it is in the number and variety of its trees. If we were compelled to describe the territory of the United States in a few words, we could not do it more philosophically than in the language of Volney, who represents it as one vast forest, diversified by occasional cultivated intervals. With the exception of some of the prairies of the Valley of the Mississippi, we are not aware that there is any considerable section within our present States, which was originally destitute of wood. Beyond the immediate vicinity of our large towns, we find every stream thickly shaded by overhanging branches, and every mountain, with the exception of a few of the highest, covered with a leafy screen of all varieties of shade, from its base to its summit.

The progress of population and of improvement, astonishing as it has been, has been insufficient to efface to any degree this distinguishing feature of American scenery; and the striking picture, drawn by one of our own poets, of the native aspect of the country, has not yet lost its general resemblance.

> "Then all this youthful paradise around,
> And all the broad and boundless mainland lay
> Cooled by the interminable wood, that frowned
> O'er mount and vale, where never summer ray
> Glanced, till the strong tornado broke its way,
> Through the gray giants of the sylvan wild;
> Yet many a sheltered glade, with blossoms gay
> Beneath the showering sky and sunshine mild,
> Within the shaggy arms of that dark forest smiled."

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The extent of our woods is not more remarkable, than the various kinds of trees which compose them. It is stated by Michaux, that in the United States there are one hundred and forty species of forest trees, which attain to a greater height than thirty feet, while in France there are only eighteen of the same description. Of the solid advantages which we derive from this abundant variety, we shall say nothing at present. It needs only a cursory glance, to perceive how much it enhances the beauty of our natural scenery. "I was never tired," says an intelligent English traveller, "of the forest scenery of America, although I passed through it from day to day. The endless diversity of foliage always prevents it from being monotonous." The variety of shape and tints in their green foliage is not, however, the chief distinction of our woods over those of the old world. They surpass them far more in the rich and various hues of their autumnal leaves. This, if not the most striking, is certainly the most unique feature of an American landscape. What natural scenery can surpass in beauty that presented by one of our forests to our view, in one of the brilliant and serene afternoons of our Indian summer, when the trees are clothed with a tapestry of the richest gold and purple and scarlet; resembling and almost rivalling the most gorgeous hues of our autumnal sunsets!

It is not the mere variety of coloring, which is the peculiar characteristic of our fading leaves. This variety exists also in European woods, though to a less extent; for, as has been already stated, their catalogue of forest trees is far more scanty than ours. But their leaves, in divesting themselves of their summer green, lay aside also all their brilliancy, and assume a complexion proverbially dull and faded. It is a peculiarity, on the contrary, of many of our forest trees, that their leaves, in changing their hue, lose little or nothing of their brightness, and that their autumnal dress is not only far richer, but scarcely less lively, than their freshest June liveries.

This circumstance is generally ascribed to some peculiarity in our climate, and especially to the manner in which the cold weather makes its first approaches. But this manner varies almost every year, and yet our trees exhibit annually the same splendid changes. For this, as well as for other reasons, we are inclined to think, that the peculiarity is not in the climate, but in the trees themselves, and that it is one of those shades

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of difference, which distinguish in almost every instance the plants of America from their kindred species in the old world. A transplanted American maple, for instance, would probably undergo the same splendid transmutations in an English park as in its native forest. This supposition has been formed on much consideration, and is besides sanctioned by the opinion of an eminent English botanist, who has resided in this country for several years.

We have observed that scarcely any considerable portion of this country is entirely devoid of magnificent forest trees. But whatever striking instances of the truth of this remark we may find in New England, and more especially in Vermont and Maine, it must be admitted that he who would behold sylvan scenery on its most magnificent scale, should cross the Alleghanies, and visit the great Valley of the Mississippi. Here he will find vast tracts, into which the axe of the woodman has never penetrated. These are covered with a coat of vegetable mould, exceeding in many places the depth of our richest soils. We find accordingly a luxuriance of vegetation, to which nothing in our own State affords a parallel. It is true that with us there is here and there a gigantic elm or buttonwood, which might take rank with the noblest specimens of western growth. But in travelling in Kentucky or Indiana, we find trees, at every step, of six or seven feet in diameter; so that most of our woods, compared as a whole with theirs, seem to be but as the product of yesterday. Every plant appears to partake of this gigantic character. Thus the wild grape vine, which with us rarely grows larger than a stout walking-stick, in our Western States sometimes surpasses in diameter the body of a full-grown man. This fact we have verified by actual admeasurement.

The majesty of our western forests is not a little increased by the circumstance that they are generally free from undergrowth. The banks of the upper Mississippi especially are covered with trees of the largest size, shooting up to a lofty height from the smooth levels or gentle swells of the green prairies beneath, like the oaks in the finest parks of England. So tastefully are these trees grouped by the hand of nature, and so entirely clear is the green prairie grass from undergrowth, that the spectator can hardly avoid imagining, that he is looking not at a new country, but at one which was once

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peopled by a highly-cultivated community, who have been long since swept away with every vestige of their wealth and refinement, except their stately groves and verdant lawns.

We have thus far spoken of our forests merely as a predominant and magnificent feature of American scenery. But it is scarcely necessary to say, that they have other claims to our attention, of a far more solid character. It is to our forests that we have been indebted for two hundred years for our fuel and our shelter. How much of the progress of New England at least, since its first settlement by our forefathers, has been owing to the liberality of Nature in this particular! Whatever were the calamities, in other respects, of those much-enduring men, they were at least exempted from the extreme and probably fatal suffering, to which they would have been subjected in a thinly-wooded region. Had the aborigines possessed that determined and unsparing hostility to large trees, which seems to have actuated many of their successors, it is probable that these northern settlements would never have had a being.

One of the most remarkable of the forest trees of the United States is the White Pine, called in England the Weymouth pine, and known by botanists as the *Pinus Strobus*. This tree must be familiar to many of our readers in various ways, as it abounds in our neighbourhood, and as its branches are more frequently employed than those of any other tree, for the decoration of our Catholic and Episcopal churches. It may be distinguished at first sight from every other evergreen growing in this State, by the lightness and delicacy of its foliage, as well as by its less formal mode of growth. On a closer view, it is found to differ from all other pines or spruces here or elsewhere, in being what is called five-leaved, that is, in putting forth its leaves in sheaths each containing five. The leaves of all evergreen trees, except the pine family, are without a sheath, and those of other pines grow in sheaths containing two or three. This tree is certainly the most majestic in the country, when it reaches its full growth in our forests. Though it does not spread in a graceful sheaf like the elm, nor rise up in a regular spire like the fir, it more than compensates for the want of these beauties, by its loftiness. None of the productions of this country approach it in this particular. It is sometimes said to reach the height of more than two hundred feet, and Michaux actually measured one which had been felled, and which exceeded one hundred and fifty;

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and the trunk is singularly smooth and straight. A magnificent appearance is far from its chief recommendation. We know not that we in New England are equally indebted to any other production of our forests; not even to the oak. Michaux remarks, that throughout the Northern States, except in the larger capitals, seven tenths of the houses are of wood, of which seven tenths, three quarters, estimated at half a million, (this estimate was made nearly thirty years ago,) are of white pine. In the first part of this statement, there is a mistake quite remarkable, in a writer of such singular research and accuracy. If we except the larger capitals, we ought to say not that seven tenths, but nine tenths at least, of houses in the northern States, are wooden; indeed the number of those of a different description may be considered as too small to deserve notice; and of these nine tenths the great mass are of white pine.

This tree owes its selection for this most important purpose to one quality in particular, the small expense of labor at which it can be fashioned and put together. While it is more durable and better able to bear exposure to the fierce temperature and sudden changes of our climate, than any other pine which abounds in New England, it is also lighter, softer, and more free from knots. In favorable situations the diameter of the trunk varies from three to seven feet; and thus it furnishes planks for building of ample dimensions. This tree has also one important quality in common with the locust, which is denied to many other of our best timber trees. We mean the great proportion which the heart, or perfect wood, bears even in young trees to the alburnum or sap wood, being not less than eleven to one in trees of a foot in diameter. In all timber after felling, it is the sap wood which is the first to decay, and which is as unfit for any useful purpose, as the unripened products of nature generally. Hence it is an important element in the value of the white pine, that it ripens its wood at so early a period. It is true after all, that in point of durability, when freely exposed to the elements, or when set in the ground, its timber cannot compete with many of the harder woods; but if well seasoned and kept carefully painted, it will endure for centuries, without any symptoms of decay, as we find attested by many wooden houses, more especially in our large towns. Where entirely covered, it seems to be incorruptible. But, were its durability less, the other qualities

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to which we have adverted, namely, its lightness and softness, would form a most liberal equivalent.

It is not easy to estimate, how much the rapid advancement of New England may have been owing to the abundance of this valuable tree. The importance of shelter is a point which it requires few lessons from our winter climate to set forth; and by no tree with which we are acquainted, could this want be supplied so rapidly and easily, as by the white pine. At the value which human labor has always maintained among us, the difference of expense to New England, which would have resulted from the general employment of the oak, for instance, instead of the pine, for our houses, would be enormous. In many parts of the Valley of the Mississippi, this pine, as well as almost every other species of pine, is exceedingly rare. The settlers are in consequence obliged to substitute the oak, both for their houses and their furniture. Their dwellings, (we speak of the new settlers,) are generally of oak filled in with earth, and are quite inferior, both in appearance and comfort, to those which we find in the newly-cleared lands of Maine.

We are scarcely less indebted to the white pine, for our commercial and naval, than for our civil, architecture. It is this tree, which gives us, not indeed the frames, but the masts of our vessels, for which it is admirably fitted, by the degree in which it combines the qualities of durability and lightness, as well as by the straightness of its trunk. Its place for this purpose, in the Northern and Middle States, could hardly be supplied. During our colonial existence, its value was fully appreciated by the mother country; and, more than one hundred years ago, some statutes were passed, restricting the cutting of trees proper for masts. We have found no evidence, however, that these statutes were ever enforced; and, however useful in their design, they would interfere quite too much with private liberty, to render their renewal desirable, so far as respects the land of individuals. But it is certainly well worthy the consideration of the legislature of Maine, whether effectual measures should not be taken, for the preservation, and perhaps the propagation of valuable timber on the public lands, within her jurisdiction; and the deep interest which our own commonwealth has in those lands, might render a respectful interposition on her part advisable.

The fame of the white pine has long since extended to

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Europe, principally by means of the stocks which have been exported to England, to supply in part her immense demand for masts and spars. The living tree has also been introduced into that country, but is not highly appreciated, and we have found no English writer who does it full justice. The truth is, however, that the climate of England is not fitted to its developement. The limits within which it flourishes in this country, are the 43d and 47th degrees of latitude. Now no part of the Island of Great Britain has a climate which answers to that of this region. The northern extremity of Scotland, which lies in about the 58th or 59th degree of latitude, is visited with winters far less rigorous than the great majority of our own. Besides, there are few situations in Great Britain, which furnish the soil in which this tree chiefly delights. The most magnificent specimens of the white pine in this country are found in the depths of our forests, in a virgin soil covered with the accumulated mould of centuries, and above all on the banks of rivers, or in the beds of large cedar swamps. In pleasure grounds, it seldom rises to its greatest height, or at least requires a longer time to do so, than has yet been allowed in any instance within our knowledge. It grows, however, with considerable rapidity, and soon acquires a loftiness and bulk equal to that of most cultivated trees; and its highly polished bark and light silvery foliage, render it, from the time it springs from the soil, a desirable accession to every shrubbery.

The next of our principal forest trees, which we shall notice, is the White Oak. The general appearance of oaks is more familiar to us of this region, than that of any other class of forest trees, except the elm and the plane tree. The oak is far less lofty than the pine, and has no pretensions to the elegance of the elm; but as an emblem of robust vigor, it stands, both in the old and new world, at the head of all the sons of the forest. In short, a full-grown oak can be considered as occupying the same place among fine trees, which the Hercules does among fine statues, and may be described in the terms applied to that magnificent work of art by an English poet, as "strength embodied." Such has been its character in all ages. It is also supposed to be a tree of slower growth and longer life than any other, though its superiority in this last respect over the chestnut, is far from incontestable. The useful qualities of its wood have also been

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appreciated from time immemorial, in every country in the temperate zone. For these reasons probably, the oak has been regarded with a degree of veneration, from the earliest ages of mankind. The first funereal monument on record was an oak tree. But in no country has it been more valued, more honored or cherished, than in that of our forefathers, and with abundant reason, as forming the chief material of those wooden walls, to which they have more than once owed their national existence. Hence it has long been recommended to us by many historical and poetical associations, and the achievements of our gallant navy, as well as the vast benefits, which we have derived from our commerce, have given it a new and far stronger claim to our veneration.

Of all the species of this genus, which grow in the latitude of New England, the most valued is the white oak, (*Quercus Alba.*) This is easily distinguished from every other tree of the same kind in our vicinity by the whiteness of its bark, and by the persisting, or holding on, of a few of the dried leaves, in the winter season. Its leaves are also without prickles or bristles at the end of their lobes, a quality in which it agrees with no large oak in this State except the swamp white oak, (*Quercus prinus discolor.*) It bears a greater analogy than any other oaks, to the celebrated oak of England, European white oak, or *Quercus pedunculata.*

Which of the two trees furnishes the finer timber, is a question which has been investigated with great care. It is stated by high authority, that the wood of the American white oak is lighter, more elastic, and more flexible, than that of the English, but that it is on the whole weaker and less durable; and this opinion is sanctioned by a large number of English writers. We are inclined however to doubt, whether the question has been fully settled by facts; for some of those who have expressed such an opinion in strong terms, conclude by admitting, that, after all, American vessels might be no less durable than English, were their timber equally well seasoned. The white oak was largely employed in the frame of our favorite frigate, which was built forty years ago. In the course of the very thorough repair to which that vessel was lately subjected, many of the white oak timbers of her frame were found in excellent condition; and it was stated on the best authority, that in several instances, timbers of this description were sound, while others by their side, of the southern live oak,

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had decayed. Now the superiority of the live oak in point of durability, over the oak of any other country, has never yet been questioned. The English oak, however, if really superior, could be easily multiplied in our Northern and Middle States. It has been already introduced, and some fine specimens of more than twenty years' growth may be seen in our neighbourhood.

The timber generally selected for ship-building is what is called the pasture oak. This is greatly preferred to that which grows in crowded forests, where the trees, from their vicinity to each other, are robbed of much of the nutriment which they derive from the soil, as well as of the genial influence of the sun and air. Hence the building of a single large vessel requires the timber of many acres, and as the white oak is constantly felled in great quantities, both for home consumption and for exportation, the period cannot be distant when serious difficulty will be experienced in procuring a supply of this valuable wood.

In this connexion, it may be proper to make one or two remarks on the felling of trees. It is generally agreed, that the durability of timber depends materially on the season when this operation is performed; but what that season is, is a question on which directly opposite opinions are held by the ablest writers. The principal cause of the decay of wood of all descriptions, is thought to be the sap, which remains after felling; and hence the desired object is, to procure timber as free as possible from this ingredient. To this end, it has been recommended to fell the tree in the winter season, as it is then deemed to contain the smallest quantity of sap; and such we believe is the general practice. This doctrine, however, has been opposed with great ability, by the late Colonel Pickering, who states, and with truth, that trees are not devoid of sap in winter, but that it exists in abundance, though greatly thickened by the cold. He maintains, therefore, that it is much more difficult to expel than in summer, when in a more liquid form, and that the proper time for felling the tree is, not when it contains least sap, but when the sap which it does contain, may most easily escape or be expelled. This opinion certainly seems to be the better one, though the winter season is so much more convenient on many accounts than any other for the procuring of timber, that the old practice will probably maintain its ground. But whatever may be thought

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of the correctness of Colonel Pickering's theory, no one will question the propriety of the suggestion, with which he concludes his remarks, that the point should be determined by actual experiments, under the direction of our Navy Board, or some other high scientific authority. — Besides the white oak, there are four other species in our vicinity, which grow to a large size. Of these the most valuable are the Swamp White, and the Black Oak. The swamp white oak is not abundant, and grows only in moist soils. It has been less used than the white oak, partly on account of its rarity; but its timber is heavier, and it is thought that it may be found, on accurate examination, to be superior. The black oak is valued not for its timber, which is of an inferior quality, but for its bark, for it is this, which furnishes the *quercitron*, so much used for imparting a beautiful yellow die to wool, paper, &c.*

Next to the pines and oaks, there seems to be no tree in the country, of more extensive celebrity than the *Sugar Maple*. The extraordinary neatness of its appearance, and the beauty of its foliage, which in summer is of the liveliest green, and in autumn assumes the richest and most glowing red, are sufficient to recommend it as a beautiful ornament, in our gardens and avenues. The bark is remarkably smooth, and the tree is infested, we believe, by no insect, nor subject to any maladies. The branches are disposed with much regularity, though without stiffness, and so arranged, that their usual outline is an elegant oval. It is to this tree we are chiefly indebted for the beautiful curled and bird's-eye maple, employed in cabinet work, which rivals, if it be not admitted to

* In a communication in the 4th volume of "The New England Farmer," made several years ago by one of our most distinguished fellow-citizens, mention is made of the trunks of several large oaks in Dorchester, in one of which he had counted upwards of two hundred annual rings. The largest oak, and indeed the largest tree which we have seen in this country, is a white oak, on the estate of James Wadsworth, Esq. of Genesee. The tree is from twenty-four to twenty-seven feet in circumference at the smallest part of the trunk. Its age cannot be less than five hundred years, and it must, therefore, have been a majestic tree at the time when Columbus discovered the western world. It appears to be still in a vigorous and healthy condition, and bears in its exterior no marks whatever of decay. It is by no means improbable that this tree exceeds in size many both in Europe and elsewhere, which are recorded as of greater diameter. For in the measurement of large trees, it is of great importance to ascertain at what part of the trunk the measurement was taken. Every one must have remarked the difference between the bulk of such trees at the surface of the ground, and at a few feet above.

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surpass in brilliancy and richness, the finest woods of tropical climates. But the sugar maple derives its chief reputation, as well as its name, from the qualities of its sap. A large portion of the sugar used in many parts of the country, the western districts of Vermont and New York for instance, is derived from the maple. Michaux remarked, nearly thirty years since, that at least ten millions of pounds of this sugar were then annually made in the United States. This quantity is far less than might be procured, from the same source, in case of necessity. According to Dr. Rush, the northern part of New York and Pennsylvania alone, contained at the same period, thirty millions of sugar maple trees; and, if we suppose each tree to yield on an average from two to four pounds of sugar annually, the product would go far towards supplying the whole consumption of the country.

The maple sugar can be made of a quality equal to the best imported. We have seen it formed into very good loaf sugar. It is, however, in a brown state that it is generally used; and, except in the districts where it is produced, it is less agreeable to the palate of consumers generally, than the product of the cane. To manufacture it, requires a great expense not only of labor, but of fuel; and hence it probably cannot be sold, at a distance, for a price which will enable it to compete with the imported article. The sap of the tree, or maple juice, as it is called, is greedily coveted by wild and domestic animals, who break through enclosures for the sake of obtaining it, and is generally an agreeable and wholesome beverage. We have been informed, however, of one instance, in which it proved to be of a highly intoxicating quality. This circumstance occurred, about thirty years since, in the western part of the State of New York. All the sap procured from the maple trees of an extensive district, was found to have undergone a vinous fermentation; and children who drank it freely were in some cases rendered delirious, for two or three days. We have heard of no other instance of this phenomenon, nor have we learned that any probable explanation has been given of its cause.

The last of our forest trees which we shall notice, is one of which we need say but little, either in the way of description or recommendation. We mean our American Elm. In a strictly economical point of view, this tree is of little value, as neither its wood nor its bark is employed to any extent in the

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useful arts. It is subject to the disadvantage of being more attacked by the cankerworm, than any other of our forest trees, and is one of the first to shed its foliage in autumn. It is a tree also, which proves rather a troublesome inmate in small gardens and enclosures, as it spreads its roots far and wide, and frequently protrudes them above the surface of the ground, so that it completely monopolizes a large extent of soil. But where a proper space can be allotted to it, there is no tree which rivals it in grace and majesty. Michaux pronounces it to be decidedly the most magnificent vegetable production of the temperate zone. Few, who have seen this tree in favorable situations, will question its right to this pre-eminence. Happily we need not go far to find this remark splendidly illustrated. We refer to the triple row of elms which adorns the Boston Mall. What is there in the finest specimens of architecture in that city, public or private, to which a Bostonian can turn with more pleasure or more exultation? Who has ever contemplated those solid colonnades and shady arches, without grateful feelings to the unknown individual to whose taste and wisdom we owe them? Who doubts that his name, had he chosen to record it, would have been far better perpetuated by such a memorial, than by the proudest monument of brass or marble? We have seen nothing of the same description in any part of the country, to be compared to this magnificent avenue; but every one must have observed single elms, of equal or superior magnitude and beauty to any of the trees of which it is composed. These are generally the relics of our original forests; and the care with which they are now preserved and protected, furnishes a striking and gratifying evidence of an improving taste for sylvan scenery.

We have thus called the attention of our readers to a very few of the forest trees of this country. It might be gratifying to speak also of several of those of the old world; but we could not do so without extending this article beyond its proper limits. We have already observed that the list of European forest trees is far more scanty than ours, and there are very few of them which would be a valuable accession to our botanical treasures. Many of the most important classes or genera of forest trees are common to both continents, such as the oak, ash, elm, &c. Those trees of the old world and the new, which bear the same name, generally resemble each

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other to a great degree; but in almost every instance, the resemblance stops short of complete exactness. Thus we find that the elms, willows, and larches of Europe and America, though manifestly belonging to the same class of vegetable productions, differ from each other materially either in their size, their beauty, or the value of their timber. This seems merely an application of the general law of nature, which leads her to avoid, in all her productions, any thing like mathematical resemblance; a rule, of which we have a familiar proof, in the fact that no two leaves can be found on any tree, which do not manifestly differ in shape or size.

There is, however, one tree of the old world, which has been rendered so familiar to our imaginations, by early associations both of a poetical and sacred character, that we cannot forbear to speak of it more particularly; we mean the Cedar of Lebanon. This tree was for a long time supposed to be indigenous only on the mountains of Palestine, whence it derives its name. The researches of later botanists have discovered it on other high ridges, and it has been said to have been found more especially in the northern part of Russia. It is classed with the larches, a place to which it is entitled, among other reasons, by the shape and size of its leaves, and the manner in which they are disposed on its branches. These branches extend themselves to an uncommonly wide distance, are arranged in stages one above another, and are horizontal or rather slightly inclining to the earth, and thus form an irregular penthouse. In the opinion of the best judges, this tree owes its beauty partly to this arrangement of its limbs, and partly to the density and the deep green of its foliage. But it is only in its native mountains, that we can find any magnificent specimens of this renowned plant, and of these specimens the number is small, and constantly diminishing. We are told, that, in 1789 there were only *seven* cedars on Mount Lebanon, of a very large size, one or two of which were found by measurement to be thirty feet in circumference These noble trees are probably the growth of several centuries, but we should give ourselves up quite too far to the guidance of our fancies, if we supposed, as many writers seem inclined to do, that they were coeval with the days of Solomon. The whole number of cedars on this spot, large and small, is about a hundred; and they are said to be annually

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honored by a pompous religious ceremony, attended by several thousand devotees.

But however magnificent the appearance of this tree, and however numerous and interesting the associations with which it is connected, we are compelled by the testimony of the best authorities, to deny to it some of the qualities with which it has long been invested in popular estimation. It has been called, for instance, a lofty tree. To this title it has no pretension, as we have no well-authenticated account of its exceeding the height of a hundred feet, and it seldom rises to much more than half that elevation.

There is also a popular impression, that its wood is distinguished by durability. This opinion is derived partly from the representations of the ancients,* and partly from the fact, that the timber of its namesakes, the cedars of our own country, is remarkable for this quality. According to the great majority of botanists, the wood of the cedar of Lebanon is an inferior kind of deal, resembling some descriptions of pine, but less durable.

For the purposes of timber, therefore, this tree is unworthy of cultivation. Whether its beauty, and its historical and poetical celebrity, are sufficient recommendations for its introduction, is a question unfortunately of little interest to us, as there is probably no part of the United States, where it could be raised to advantage in the open air. It is true that, in its native locality, it is subjected to a high degree of cold, as it grows immediately below the covering of eternal snow, which rests on the summit of Lebanon. But the atmosphere even of England is unsuited to its full developement, on account of its want of sufficient moisture, and therefore it must be entirely out of the question, to suppose that it could flourish in our proverbially bright and dry climate. It seems to partake of the nature of what are called Alpine plants, and every gardener knows, that such plants are of all others the most difficult to rear, and that it is next to impossible to supply them with a

* It is well known that the ancients were far from accurate in their botanical knowledge, and that, even in our day, nothing is more common or more vexatious, than the great confusion and numerous mistakes, which result from describing vegetable productions merely by their popular names. There is much controversy among botanists, whether the name of cedar was not often given by ancient writers to some species of pine or cypress.

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proper equivalent, for the constant shade and moisture, which they enjoy on the cloud-capped tops of their native hills.

It was our intention to have submitted, in this place, a few practical hints on the subject of planting. But as complete directions may be found in books easily accessible, we have concluded rather to occupy the space with an account of the mode in which the business of procuring timber and boards, commonly called lumbering or logging, is carried on in the principal timber regions in Maine. This account was furnished us by a highly intelligent friend residing in Bangor; and we trust may be interesting, from its own merit, as well as from the importance of the branch of industry which it describes.

"When a lumberer has concluded to log on a particular tract, the first step is to go with a part of his hands, and select suitable situations for building his camps. In making this selection, his object is to be as near as possible to the best clumps of timber he intends to haul, and to the streams into which he intends to haul it. He then proceeds to build his camps, and to cut out and clear out his principal roads. The camps are built of logs, being a kind of log houses. They are made about three feet high on one side and eight or nine on the other, with a roof slanting one way. The roof is made of shingles, split out of green wood, and laid upon rafters. The door is made of such boards as can be manufactured out of a log with an axe. Against the tallest side of the camp is built the chimney; the back being formed by the wall of the camp, and the sides made by green logs, piled up for jams, about eight feet apart. The chimney seldom rises above the roof of the camp; though some, who are nice in their architectural notions, sometimes carry it up two or three feet higher. It is obvious, from the construction, that nothing but the greenness of the timber prevents the camp from being burnt up immediately. Yet the great fires that are kept up, make but little impression, in the course of the winter, upon the back or sides of the chimney. A case, however, happened within a year or two, where a camp took fire in the night, and was consumed, and the lumberers in it were burnt to death. Probably the shingle roof had become dry, in which case a spark would kindle it, and the flames would spread over it in a moment.

"Parallel to the lower side of the building, and about six feet from it, a stick of timber runs on the ground across the camp. The space between this and the lower wall is appropriated to the bedding; the stick of timber serving to confine it in its

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place. The bedding consists of a layer of hemlock boughs spread upon the ground, and covered with such old quilts and blankets, as the tenants can bring away from their homes. The men camp down together, with their heads to the lower wall and their feet towards the fire. Before going to bed, they replenish their fire; some two or more of them being employed in putting on such logs, as with their handspikes they can manage to pile into the chimney. As the walls of the building are not very tight, the cool air plays freely round the head of the sleeper, making a difference of temperature between the head and the feet not altogether agreeable to one unused to sleep in camps. A rough bench and table complete the furniture of the establishment. A camp very similar, though not so large in its dimensions, is built near for the oxen. On the top of this the hay is piled up, giving it some warmth, while it is convenient for feeding.

"A large logging concern will require a number of camps, which will be distributed over the tract, so as best to accommodate the timber. One camp serves generally for one or two teams. A *team*, in ordinary logging parlance, expresses, not only the set of four or six oxen that draw the logs, but likewise a gang of men employed to tend them. It takes from three or four to seven or eight men, to keep one team employed; one man being employed in driving the cattle, and the others in cutting down the trees, cutting them into logs, barking them, and cutting and clearing the way to each tree. The number of hands required, depends upon the distance to be hauled inversely. That is, most hands are required when the distance is shortest; because the oxen, returning more frequently, require their loads to be prepared more expeditiously.

"Having built their camps, or while building them, the main roads are to be cut out. These run from the camps to the landing places, or some stream of sufficient size to float down the logs on the spring freshet. Other roads are cut to other clumps of timber. They are made by cutting and clearing away the underbrush, and such trees and old logs as may be in the way, to a sufficient width for the team of oxen, with the bob sled and timber on it, to pass conveniently. The bob sled is made to carry one end of the timber only; the other drags upon the ground. And the bark is chipped off, that the log may slip along more easily.

"The teams proceed to the woods when the first snows come, with the hands who are not already there, and the supplies. The supplies consist principally of pork and flour for the men, and Indian meal for the oxen. Some beans, tea, and molasses,

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are added. Formerly hogsheads of rum were considered indispensable, and I have before me a bill of supplies for a logging concern of three teams in 1827–28, in which I find one hundred and eighty gallons of rum charged. But of late, very few respectable lumberers take any spirits with them. And the logging business is consequently carried on with much more method, economy, and profit. The pork and flour must be of the best quality. Lumberers are seldom content to take any of an inferior sort; and even now, when flour is twelve dollars a barrel, they are not to be satisfied with the coarser bread stuffs.

"Hay is procured as near to the camps as possible. But as most of the timber lands are remote from settlements, it is generally necessary to haul it a considerable distance. And as it must be purchased of the nearest settlers, they are enabled to obtain very high prices. From twelve to twenty dollars per ton is usually paid. When the expense of hauling it to the camp is added, the whole cost is frequently as high as thirty dollars a ton, and sometimes much higher. Owners of timber lands at a distance from settlements, may make a great saving, by clearing up a piece of their land, and raising their own hay.

"Some one of the hands, who has not so much efficiency in getting timber, as skill in kneading bread and frying pork, is appointed to the office of cook. Salt pork, flour, bread and tea, constitute the regular routine of the meals, varied sometimes with salt fish or salt beef. Potatoes are used when they can be had. Now and then, perhaps, when the snow is deep, they catch a deer and live on venison.

"The men are employed through the day, in cutting the timber and driving the teams. In the evening some take care of the oxen; some cut wood for the fire; then they amuse themselves with stories and singing, or in other ways, until they feel inclined to turn in upon the universal bed. On Sundays the employer claims no control over their time, beyond the taking care of the cattle, the fire and the cooking. On this day, they do their washing and mending; some employ themselves besides, in seeking timber and some in hunting partridges; whilst some remain in the camp and read the Bible.

"They remain in the woods from the commencement of sledding, some time in December, until some time in March; in the course of which month, their labors are usually brought to a close, either by the snow's getting too shallow or too deep. If there are heavy thaws, the snow runs off, not leaving enough to make good hauling. If, on the other hand, it gets to be four or five feet deep, the oxen cannot break through it, to make the path which it is necessary to form, in order to get at each indi-

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vidual tree. The men and teams then leave the woods. Sometimes one or two remain, to be at hand, when the streams open. I know one, who last winter stayed by himself in the woods, fifteen or twenty miles from the nearest habitation, for the space of twenty-eight days; during which time he earned $203 by getting in timber with his axe alone, being allowed for it at the same rate per thousand that the lumberers were, in getting it in with their teams. He found some berths in the banks of the stream, where all that was necessary was to fell the tree so that it should fall directly upon the water, and there cut it into logs to be ready for running.

"When the streams are opened, and there is a sufficient freshet to float the timber, another gang, called "river drivers," take charge of it. It is their business to start it from the banks, and follow it down the river, clearing off what lodges against rocks, pursuing and bringing back the sticks that run wild among the bushes and trees, that cover the low lands adjoining the river, and breaking up jams that form in narrow or shallow places. A *jam* is caused by obstacles in the river catching some of the sticks, which in their turn catch others coming down, and so the mass increases until a solid dam is formed, which entirely stops up the river, and prevents the further passage of any logs. These dams are most frequently formed at the top of some fall. And it is often a service that requires much skill and boldness, and is attended with much danger, to break them up. The persons who undertake it must go on to the mass of logs, work some out with their pickpoles, cut some to pieces, attach ropes to others to be hauled out by the hands on shore, and they must be on the alert to watch the moment of the starting of the timber, and exercise all their activity to get clear of it, before they are carried off in its tumultuous rush.

"Some weeks, more or less, according to the distance, spent in this way, brings the timber to the neighbourhood of the saw mills. A short distance above Oldtown, on the Penobscot, there is a boom established, extending across the river, for the purpose of stopping all the logs that come down. It is made by a floating chain of logs connected by iron links, and supported at suitable distances, by solid piers built in the river; without this it would be impossible to stop a large part of the logs, and they would be carried on the freshet down the river, and out to sea. The boom is owned by an individual, who derives a large profit from the boomage, which is thirty-five cents per thousand on all logs coming into it. The boom cost the present owner about $40,000. He has offered it for sale for $45,000. It is said the net income from it last year, was $15,000.

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"Here all the logs that come down the Penobscot, are collected in one immense mass, covering many acres, where is intermingled the property of all the owners of timber lands, in all the broad region that is watered by the Penobscot and its branches, from the east line of Canada above Moosehead Lake, on the one side, to the west line of New Brunswick, on the other. Here the timber remains, till the logs can be sorted out for each owner, and rafted together to be floated to the mills, or other places below. *Rafting* is the connecting the logs together, by cordage, which is secured by pins driven into each log, forming them into bands, like the ranks of a regiment. This operation is performed by the owner of the boom. The ownership of the timber is ascertained by the marks which have been chopped into each log before it left the woods; each owner having a mark, or combination of marks, of his own. When the boom is full, only the logs lowest down can be got at, and the proprietors of other logs must wait weeks, sometimes months, before they can get them out, to their great inconvenience and damage.

"After the logs are rafted, and out of the boom, a great part of them are lodged for convenience, in a place called Pen Cove, which is a large and secure basin in the river, about two miles below the boom. From this cove they can be taken out as they are wanted for the mills below. While in the boom, and at other places on the river, they are liable to great loss from plunderers. The owners or drivers of logs will frequently smuggle all that come in their way, without regard to marks. The owners or conductors of some of the mills on the river are said to be not above encouraging and practising this species of piracy. Indeed timber, in all its stages, seems to be considered a fair object for plunderers, from the petty pilferer who steals into the woods, fells a tree, cuts it into shingles and carries it out on his back, to the comparatively rich owner of thousands of dollars.

"When the logs have been sawn at the mills, there is another rafting of the boards, which are floated down the river to Bangor, to be embarked on board the coasters for Boston. In this process they are subject to much injury, first by the mode of catching them as they come from the mill sluices, the rafters making use of a picaroon, or pole with a spike in the end of it, which is repeatedly and unmercifully driven into the boards, taking out perhaps a piece at each time; secondly, by the holes made by the pins driven into the boards in rafting; and thirdly, by the rocks and rapids and shallows in the river, breaking the rafts to pieces, and splitting up the boards as they descend. These inconveniences will be partly remedied by the railroad now in

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operation, unless other inconveniences in the use of it should be found to overbalance them.

"The kinds of timber brought down our rivers are pine, spruce, hemlock, ash, birch, maple, cedar, and hackmatack. Far the greater part of it is pine. The lumberers make about six kinds of pine; though they do not agree exactly in the classification, or in the use of some of the names. The most common division is into pumpkin pine, timber pine, sapling, bull sapling,* Norway, and yellow or pitch pine. The pumpkin pine stands preëminent in the affections of the lumberers, because it is the largest tree, and makes fine large clear boards. They are soft and of a yellowish cast. The timber pine and saplings are the most common. The former is generally preferred, as being larger and more likely to be sound. Yet the saplings are said to make the harder and more durable boards. The common sapling grows in low lands, generally very thick, but is apt to be much of it rotten. The bull sapling is larger and sounder, grows on higher land, and mixed with hard wood. The Norway pine† is a much harder kind of timber than the others. It is seldom sawed into boards, though it makes excellent floor boards. But it is generally hewed into square timber. In the Provinces it bears a higher price than the others. There is not much of it brought to market, and it is not very abundant in the woods. The yellow pine is very scarce, if to be found at all in that region.

"I will conclude with some remarks upon the different modes of operating, made use of by owners of timber. These are three. One is, for the owner to hire his men by the month, procure teams, and furnish them with equipments and supplies. A second is, to agree with some one or more individuals to cut and haul the timber, or cut, haul, and run it, at a certain price per thousand feet. The third way is to sell the *stumpage* outright; that is, to sell the timber standing.

"The first mode is seldom adopted, unless the owner of the timber is likewise a lumberer, and intends to superintend the business himself. The second mode is very common. It is considered the most saving to the owners, because the lumberer has no inducement to select the best timber, and leave all that is not of the first quality; to cut down trees and take a log, and leave others to rot that are not quite so good, but which may be well worth hauling. Its inconveniences are, that as the object of the lumberer is to get as large a quantity as possible, he will

* All the kinds here named, with the exception of the two last, are varieties of white pine.

† This pine is called also red pine, from the color of its bark.

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take trees that are not worth as much as the cost of getting them to market, and which, besides being of little value themselves, render the whole lot less saleable by the bad appearance they give it. The owner too is subject to all the losses that may happen, in running the logs down the river. Very frequently he is obliged to make one contract to have the timber cut and hauled to the landing places, and another to have it run down; for the river drivers are a distinct class from the lumberers. Most of them are indeed lumberers. But it is but a small part of the lumberers, that are river drivers. A great part of the lumberers are farmers who must be on their farms at the season of driving, and therefore cannot undertake any thing but the cutting and hauling. They are paid for the number of thousand feet they deposit at the landing places; and the logs being surveyed, or sealed, as they are hauled, their object is to get as many thousand as possible on the landing places; while the river drivers may be very careless about getting them all down, and the owner may never receive nearly the quantity he has paid for cutting and hauling. In operating in this mode, the owner usually furnishes the supplies, provisions, &c.; and the lumberer procures the teams and hires the men. The owner commonly does not bind himself to pay, before the logs get to market; and he frequently makes a contract for his supplies on the same condition, in which case he has to pay from twenty-five to thirty-three per cent. more for his goods, than he would dealing on cash or common credit. Sometimes, when there is no freshet, the logs do not get down until the second year; and then the trader and lumberer both suffer for want of their pay.

"The third mode is the simplest and easiest for the owner. He avoids all trouble of furnishing supplies, of watching the timber on the river, and of looking out for a market. But he must have a man of some capital to deal with, as he furnishes his own teams and supplies, and pays his men, receiving very heavy advances. The purchaser of it has no interest to cut the timber savingly, and he sometimes makes dreadful havock among the trees, leaving a great deal of valuable stuff on the ground to rot. And if he selects only the best trees in a berth, much of the timber left standing may be lost, because no one will afterwards want to go into that berth, from which all the best trees have been culled. It is common now, in all large concerns, for the owner to employ a man to pass the winter in the camps, living alternately at one or another, for the purpose of sealing the logs, keeping a correct account of them, and seeing that the timber is cut according to the contract. But, after all, there is

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always found to be a considerable difference between timber cut by the thousand, and that which is cut on stumpage.

"Each mode has its troubles. But I think that owners at a distance will manage their concerns with least vexation by selling the stumpage, provided that they have honest men to deal with."

The public attention is, of late, we hope, more alive than it has been, to the value of our forests, and to the necessity of economizing what yet remains of these rich national treasures, and of replacing what has been so carelessly wasted. This necessity is every day making itself more manifest. Fuel has already become scarce in our seaports, or rather on our whole seacoast; a fact worthy the serious consideration of those, who reflect that the sufferings of the poor, from the want of this article, are probably greater than from all other causes united. Our best timber also is becoming more and more costly, and our civil and naval architects are constantly driven to the employment of that of inferior quality. The live oak of the southern States is already procured for our navy yards with great difficulty, and in fifty years will probably disappear from our soil; and our own white oak, as well as our other most valuable timber trees, must follow at no very distant period. It is in the power of every one who possesses a few acres of land, to do much to arrest this mighty evil; and what might not be anticipated from a simultaneous effort on the part of cultivators in our commonwealth, or even in a single county? And all this, at the expense, on the part of each individual, of a few shillings of money and a few hours of interesting labor. If we owe any thing to posterity, in what way could we confer on them so great a benefit at so cheap a rate?

It is not, however, strictly true, or rather it is not the whole truth, to say with Virgil, that he who plants benefits his remote posterity. A friend of ours once observed, that those who set out forest trees, reminded him of the student, who on hearing that a crow would live for a century, bought a young one, for the sake of watching the experiment. As a stroke of humor, this remark is privileged from criticism; but as a statement of facts, it must be received with much qualification. It is no uncommon circumstance to find oaks of twenty years' growth, of more than a foot in diameter, and of forty or fifty feet in height; and we have seen an English willow of only

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double that age, measuring, at several feet from the ground, more than seven yards in circumference. Were planting *commenced at the time when our young men usually enter on* their professions or their business, how many might live to enjoy the shade of majestic groves of their own raising!

These remarks may derive some additional interest from the fact, that a taste for rural occupations is rapidly springing up and extending itself in our large cities, and that objects of this description are gradually absorbing more and more of the capital as well as the intelligence, of that portion of our community. Where indeed could they find a source of entertainment more pure, more copious, or more beneficial to themselves or their fellow citizens? To say nothing of the value of forest trees for what are strictly denominated useful purposes, let us ask in what way any individual among us can do more to decorate and beautify the country. How many millions have been devoted in this, as well as in other communities, to architecture, and yet how little have the results corresponded to the time, the effort, and the money so expended! For one chaste and magnificent edifice, we have ten irregular and disproportioned piles, countenancing, and almost justifying, the sweeping remark of a French author, that the Genius of architecture had shed his malediction on America. But he who rears a stately grove or avenue, bestows an ornament on his native land, which none but a Vandal would wish to destroy. How much has been done in this city and its beautiful environs, by the taste and public spirit of a few individuals! To pass over numerous other instances, we are indebted to one of former days, as we have already observed, for the chief ornament of Boston, the triple colonnade of weeping elms in the Mall; and it is owing to the good taste of another accomplished individual of the present day, that the majestic, or, as we may now call them, the sacred groves of Mount Auburn, were rescued from the woodman's axe.

It is not merely, however, to those who are or may be practically engaged in the propagation or preservation of forest trees, though these we hope are not few, that our remarks are directed. Though comparatively a small number may be the planters or the owners of groves or of gardens, all may be admirers of forest scenery. For the indulgence of such a taste we have the highest intellectual authority. "A tree in full leaf," says Lord Bacon, "is a nobler object than a king

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in his coronation robes." But it is in a community like our own, above all others, that a taste for the beauties of forest trees, as well as an acquaintance with their nature and uses, should be carefully cultivated. It is sufficient to recommend it, that it furnishes a never-failing source of occupation and amusement to those who travel in this country, and a strong additional inducement to the general adoption of this practice, so essential and at the same time so neglected. Is it not a fact that a large proportion of those among us, who enjoy the leisure and the means for visiting other regions, confine their researches exclusively to Europe; and if it be so, is it altogether creditable to our good taste, to say nothing more? How far the practice of travelling in other countries may be advisable, is a question we do not intend to agitate, though we are convinced, after some reflection and experience, that its advantages have been astonishingly overrated. But while years are frequently employed in exploring the European continent, a few months spent in visiting the most interesting portions of our own, must assuredly be considered as any thing but wasted. Personal intercourse, if not the only, is certainly the chief means, by which the inhabitants of the different States of our widely-extended Union may be enabled to acquire a proper knowledge of the wants and the character of each other, and above all to cherish those feelings of regard, so essential to the prosperity, if not the existence of our nation. The press, however great the obligations we owe it, is of necessity always an imperfect, and sometimes an unfaithful mirror of public sentiment; and it is to personal intercourse, and to the spirit of mutual fairness and friendship, which such intercourse will assuredly generate, that we must look to supply the deficiencies, and correct the aberrations, of that mighty engine of good and of evil. It were to be wished, indeed, that the practice of travelling extensively in our own country were often pursued, at least as a preliminary to an European tour. We should not find in that case, as we think we now do in some instances, the most incorrect representations of the character and manners of our population, proceeding from the pens of our own tourists in other countries. To many of our best-educated and most accomplished men, the interior of other States, if not of their own, is a Terra Incognita, and this too in spite of those facilities of communication, which exist in the United States, to a greater degree than in almost any portion of the old world. We need not state

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how thinly this country is peopled in comparison with any other in an equal state of advancement, nor repeat, how large a portion of those wide spaces which separate our principal settlements from each other, is covered with magnificent forests. The traveller, who can relish the beauties of these splendid collections of vegetable wonders, can have few intervals of idleness or weariness.

Yet however valuable we may consider a taste for these prominent beauties of our own scenery, merely as a never-failing source of occupation and enjoyment, there are still other reasons of the highest moment, why such a taste should be anxiously cherished; we mean as one of the principal sources of an ardent and deep-felt patriotism. We trust that our country has, in the view of all of us, other qualities than the beauties of her natural scenery, to recommend her to her proper rank in our estimation. There is in her institutions, political, intellectual, and religious, more than enough to justify us in the preference which we give to our native land over all others. But patriotism, wherever it has existed in a high degree, has been, we apprehend, a *sentiment*, as well as a principle, and is something more than a cold feeling of preference. It is in truth an emotion of a complex character, and if we would cherish towards our country an enthusiastic attachment, we should not suffer ourselves to be blind to those charms, whether of nature or of art, which may recommend her to our fancy, as well as our sober judgment. Why should not the mind of an American think upon those majestic forests, whose beauties are commemorated throughout the civilized world, with something of the feeling which stirs in the bosoms respectively of a patriotic Frenchman or Englishman, when their thoughts revert to the vine-covered hills and gay regions of France, or the spreading oaks and verdant lawns of merry England?

It is truly gratifying to reflect on the progress which has been made within a very few years, in the study and developement of the internal resources of this country. In former times, the political condition of Europe, and the embarrassments, in which we were involved by the conduct of the leading belligerents, formed not only the predominant, but the sole topics of deep public interest. Little time or thought could be spared, little at any rate was spared, for the examination and improvement of our internal condition. What, for instance, had been done for the advancement of our agricul-

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ture and manufactures; and what was known of our gold regions, our coal mines, or our quarries? Such was the state of things from the very foundation of our national government to the signing of the treaty of Ghent. It is one of the chief national blessings which have resulted from our present peaceful condition, that we have been enabled and induced to turn our thoughts *inward;* that the vast natural riches of our land are no longer trodden under foot without the slightest investigation, nor its majestic and beautiful scenery passed by with a heedless glance.

Whether we regard this spirit of investigation merely as political economists, or as moralists and patriots, whether we look to its effects on the wealth or on the happiness of our community, we are sure that to cultivate and to cherish it must be regarded as a sacred duty.

ART. III. — 1. *Œuvres Complètes de* C. DELAVIGNE. Bruxelles.
2. *Chansons de* BÉRANGER. Bruxelles.
3. *Œuvres d'* ALPHONSE DE LAMARTINE. Paris.
4. *Harmonies Poétiques et Religieuses*, par A. DE LAMARTINE. Paris.

THE difference between the French and English schools of poetry is certainly much greater, than can be accounted for by the mere influence of national peculiarities. The romantic spirit eminently pervades English literature; its luxuriance of coloring, its marvellous union of things apparently inconsistent, and its blending of the visions of poetical fancy with the expectations of a higher destiny, are everywhere visible in the works of our poets. The French, on the other hand, have sought their materials of fiction chiefly in the past; and the genius of the past, the spirit of classical antiquity, has been invoked and adopted by them. Nature, as she appears in the external world, and as she is manifested in the thoughts and actions of man, is the divinity of the English. The French have done homage to art; refined and glorious art, it is true, but still art; and when they have admitted nature into their exhibitions, she has been compelled to play a subordinate part,

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her promptings only feeble and occasional, instead of possessing the powerful and universal sway she exercises where her sovereignty is acknowledged. This contempt or disregard of nature is evident elsewhere than in their writings. Their manners and fashions of dress are artificial; they seem to have a natural talent for perverting objects from their original tendency. Their vivacity, and perpetual use of extravagant figures in speech and composition, may be thought by some to indicate a natural fertility of imagination; but an examination of the works of their greatest poets will prove them eminently deficient in this creative faculty. They have been chiefly borrowers, and, though tolerably successful imitators, are certainly not entitled to the admiration which is the deserved meed of originality.

These remarks are intended to apply principally to the tragic and lyric writers of France, and to those who have arisen since the days of the bards of Provence, of the *Troubadours* and the *Trouveurs* and *Conteurs*, in whose sweet and stirring lays was born the first impulse of that romantic spirit which has since diffused itself over Europe. It is of the French classics, to whom these gave place, that we speak; on whom the nation rest their claims to literary distinction, and whose productions are more strongly contrasted with those of their English cotemporaries. The change to the classic spirit, which took place among the predecessors of Corneille, seemed to be peculiarly to the taste of the people; and, after the attainment of their greatest writers to the wished-for resemblance to the Greeks, they were considered to have reached the supreme goal of poetic merit. The popular taste, modelled after that of the court, sought for no further excellences; and would probably, under the same influence, have frowned upon any innovation. Their only care was to sustain themselves at the height, to which they fancied themselves elevated.

In this artificial and monotonous state the poetry of France long remained. It was to have been anticipated, that the tumults and conflicts of that eventful century, which produced the Revolution and its unprecedented consequences, would have influenced the most fluctuating of all departments of literature; that the same mutable spirit, at work in politics and in society, would have made itself felt in poetry. But this was not immediately the case. No change was perceptible

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during the period of disorders and agitation; it was only in the tranquillity succeeding the restoration of the Bourbons, that men found leisure to turn from the pursuits of active life, and walk in the gardens of the Muse. New principles began to be developed in the poetical art, and rapidly gained strength as they were made subservient to political views.

Since the revolution of 1830, and the accession of the Citizen King, a prodigious impulse has been given to the spirit of the popular writers of the day, who have most of them thrown off even the pretence of respect for the ancient school. The new system brought into favor by them, they denominate by way of distinction, the *romantic;* claiming credit for the merits belonging to the modern poets of this class, while they "out-Herod Herod" in the extravagances, which they imagine to distinguish happily the objects of their new-born veneration. If any term could be invented expressive of the widest degree of license, it would be more applicable than *romantic*, to their productions; as these new authors disdain utterly the limits, prescribed by nature, morality, and good taste, which legitimately control the excursive genius of the true romantic. The drama is the most popular form, in which this novel spirit has exhibited itself; and in the drama the most mischievous and reprehensible licentiousness prevails at the present time in France. A glimpse of its condition has been already afforded to our countrymen through the pages of this journal;* another field is now open to our investigation.

The recent change in French taste may, we think, be owing in a great degree to the influence of the song-writers. Their sway over the popular mind was increased by the circumstance, that their effusions were made to serve their respective factions; and they generally took part with the multitude. Belonging perhaps by birth to the inferior classes, (Béranger is a case in point,) they were less hampered than the more cultivated portion of the community by the prejudices in favor of *l'ancien régime*, which would have stood in the way of authors of greater pretensions. Then the freedom indulged in by the *chansonnier*, perhaps regarded at first as a mere means of contributing to the temporary amusement of the populace, had leisure to exert and extend its subtile effects. The liberty, which in more elevated and elaborate compositions would

* North American Review, No. XCII., for July, 1836, p. 133.

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probably have been checked at once by the outraged formalists, in productions of so fugitive a nature created no alarm; and one encroachment after another was permitted with impunity. Thus the affection of the people for models of antiquity was sapped in its foundations, and the most startling innovations perpetrated in the very presence of the divinities hitherto exclusively worshipped.

Having thus glanced briefly at the state of French poetry in general, we shall examine the works of some of their principal lyric writers. Delavigne is first on our list; a poet to whom, notwithstanding the beauty of his patriotic effusions, we are inclined to refuse the first honors. We do not find fault with him for borrowing sometimes; all his brethren do that; it is the privilege of the poetic tribe; but his obligations are too frequent and important. — His tragedies and comedies occupy the first volume of his works. They are formed after the classic plan, though in *Marino Faliero*, a wretched *travestie* of Byron, the author would seem to have made some attempts to break through his trammels. *Le Paria*, among these pieces, is the one most to our taste; and *L'École des Vieillards*, among the comedies; though we cannot decidedly say we were moved by any emotion of admiration or sympathy in reading any of them. — We turn with pleasure from these dolorous plays to the lyrics of M. Delavigne. Here we are arrested by his Elegies, to which he has given a title requiring some explanation. He undertakes, in imitation of Tyrtæus and Callinus, to sing of the misfortunes of his country; and, reminding his readers of the elegies upon the reverses of Messenia in "Le Voyage d'Anacharsis," proposes to call his elegiac poems "*Messéniennes.*" Without quarrelling with this far-fetched appellation, let us see what claims they have to our approval.

The "Messéniennes" are nineteen in number, and are followed by poems on various subjects, and a poetical Epistle to the members of the French Academy upon a debated question concerning the advantages of study. The national elegies are highly lauded by the French critics, who maintain that they unite patriotism and energy with elegance, clearness, and elevation of style. We think none will question the patriotism of M. Delavigne; nor are we disposed to deny him a due measure of the other qualities claimed for him. The elegy on the Battle of Waterloo has many spirited and brilliant pas-

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sages; and if the bursts of his patriotism are marred by occasional extravagance, its origin must cause it to be pardoned. In the second *Messénienne*, upon "*la Dévastation du Musée et des Monumens*," the author's indignation has carried him far beyond the bounds of that *sainte vérité*, which he personifies in the commencement of the poem; and the extravagance of his abuse of the foreign victors is hardly atoned for by the splendor of the poetry, in which they are consigned to evil fame.

The two elegies upon the life and death of the Maid of Arc are strikingly beautiful. The fine simile which commences the first, that of the tumultuous waves of ocean rushing on to devastate the land, and checked by the controlling voice of God, well illustrates the wild rage of a nation flushed with victory, and eager for further conquest. There is a lyric energy, approaching to sublimity, in parts of this poem. The death of Joan is not less admirable. He reprobates, with contemptuous sarcasm, the eager revenge of the multitude.

"A qui réserve-t-on ces apprêts meurtriers?
Pour qui ces torches qu'on excite?
L'airain sacré tremble et s'agite —
D'où vient ce bruit lugubre? où courent ces guerriers
Dont la foule à longs flots roule et se précipite?

La joie éclate sur leurs traits,
Sans doute l'honneur les enflamme;
Ils vont pour un assaut former leur rangs épais;
Non, ces guerriers sont des Anglais,
Qui vont voir mourir une femme."

The eleventh *Messénienne*, to Napoleon, is among our favorites, though in a different style. The "angels of his fate" are represented as appearing to Bonaparte in his tent at night. It was natural that the subject of Napoleon should employ the pens of many of the modern poets. Three in France have taken him for a theme, besides Byron and Manzoni among the great ones of other lands. The two last alone please us particularly.

The next elegy is on Lord Byron, whom we confess we were not a little surprised to stumble upon in this vicinity, being quite at a loss to explain how his Lordship came to be enumerated among the "misfortunes of France," till we found ourselves informed in a note, that Byron's ancestors were

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originally from Normandy. As he may consequently be claimed as a descendant of France, and foster-brother to Corneille, M. Delavigne doubtless considered him as a legitimate subject for a *Messénienne*. "Three Days of Christopher Columbus, to the Americans," is good, and written in less irregular measure. The opening of *Les Funérailles du Général Foy* is much in the style of Lamartine.

"Non, tu ne connais pas encore
Ce sentiment d'ivresse et de mélancolie,
Qu'inspire d'un beau jour la splendeur affaiblie;
Toi qui n'as pas vu les flots d'or,
Où nage à son couchant un soleil d'Italie,
Inonder du Forum l'enceinte ensevelie
Et le temple détruit de Jupiter Stator!

"Non, tu ne connais pas l'irresistible empire
Des beautés qu'il déploie au moment qu'il expire,
Si tes yeux n'ont pas vu son declin vif et pur,
Qui s'éteint par degrés sur Alban et Tibur,
Verser les derniers feux d'une ardeur épuisée
A travers le brillant azure
Des portiques du Colisée!

"Sur le mont Janicule et ses pins toujours verts,
Tu meurs, mais dans ta gloire; on t'admire, on te chante;
De cette Rome plus touchant
Qui pleure ta clarté ravie à ses deserts.
Du trône tu descends comme elle;
Jadis ses monumens t'égalaient en splendeur;
D'une reine déchue amant toujours fidèle,
Que ta lumière est triste et belle
Sur les débris de sa grandeur!
Tes rayons amortis, que le regard supporte,
Pâlissent en les éclairant,
Soleil, et ton éclat mourant
S'unit mieux à leur beauté morte.

Ainsi l'on voit s'éteindre, environné d'hommages,
Le talent inspiré qui, pur et sans nuages,
N'a brillé que par la vertu.
Ainsi nous l'admirons, ainsi nos larmes coulent,
Au milieu des débris de nos lois qui s'écroulent,
Comme un monument abattu;
Et l'éclat plus sacré de ce flambeau qui tombe

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Répand les derniers feux dont il est embrasé
Sur le temple détruit et sur l'autel brisé
De la Liberté qui succombe."

Among the most graceful of the minor poems is one entitled *L'Attente*. We will translate some of the stanzas.

"Live happy, — death is in our train;
Of him doth here instruct us, all;
The wine our thirsty lips now drain,
The glass our careless hand lets fall.
His torch's brief and waning light
Bids us let care and trouble fly; —
Drink, friends, while yet the flame is bright;
Each one of us ere that may die.

"Let him who rumored treasure craves,
A wandering life of labor live,
Dispute the pearl with crystal waves,
For perfumes with the Lybian strive.
Are the sweets hid on Afric's sand
These garlands worth, that crown our wine?
Or amber spread o'er Asia's strand,
The golden splendors of the vine?"

* * * * *

"When golden urns her heroes held
Rome paid her honors at their grave;
Their proud funereal domes to build,
Exhausted Paros marbles gave.
Vain grandeur! Ages have bereft
Earth of these monuments sublime;
Anacreon but a page has left
Still floating on the abyss of time.

"Read his song — imitate his joys;
Noble, yet soft, serenely gay;
Be ruled our wants by wisdom's voice,
Nor waste in plans our hopes away.
No youthful pleasures immolate
But to prolong this care and strife;
Give to the void which is our fate
A well-filled, if not lengthened life!"

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We next take up M. de Lamartine, because his works form a contrast in some respects to those of Delavigne. While the latter has found his inspiration in patriotism, in the love of liberty and hatred of tyranny, the genius of the former is kindled at the shrine of religious enthusiasm. Nearly all the productions of Lamartine are animated by a religious spirit; and his zeal is pure and chastened, not turbulent or fanatical. Yet his enthusiasm partakes of the excess to which it is rendered liable by the author's richness of fancy and impulsive character; and to his readiness in furnishing brilliant or striking illustrations of his thoughts, he not unfrequently sacrifices the simplicity which is the principal charm of effusions of this kind. Too great a profusion of ornament is unsuitable to sacred subjects; and where our poet likens his religious aspirations to the doings of every animate or inanimate object in nature, we feel oppressed by the affluence of similitudes, and even disposed to regard as questionable the piety which can indulge in such excursive flights. His habit of mingling his private feelings with those of devotion is also a clear violation of good taste. Our readers may recollect in his Travels in the East, recently published, (a work, by the way, in which we were much disappointed, having expected better things from the gifted author than such a mass of exaggerated sentiment and turgid declamation,) some verses entitled "Gethsemane, or the Death of Julia," wherein he mixes the penitence excited by the view of those scenes, with his sorrow for the death of a favorite child. Such exhibitions of private feelings are more relished, it is true, by the French than by us; but we cannot help regarding them, at all times, as a violation of nature, for emotion naturally shrinks from public display; nor can we imagine this rule entirely reversed even in *French human nature.* However, we will not quarrel with M. de Lamartine on the very threshold of our acquaintance with him, but rather proceed to show how many unquestionable claims he has upon our friendship and esteem, which we shall do *con amore.* His language owes him a deep debt for the improvements in versification he has had the boldness to introduce, and for transplanting so happily many of the beauties of foreign writers. We will examine in detail the works of this first living poet of France.

His poetical "Meditations" occupy the greater portion of one volume. They are about fifty-six in number, and are followed

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by poems on various subjects, among which is "The Last Canto of Childe Harold," an attempted sequel to Byron's great poem. We prefer infinitely his shorter lyrics; and some of these are not surpassed by any thing in the French language. The chief peculiarity of Lamartine is his picturesque style, the graphic expression of his thoughts. His language is not merely glowing, but sparkling; flashes of brilliant, fanciful illustration adorn every page. His words convey a succession of distinct pictures to the mind. This is not merely the case in his descriptions, but also in poems upon subjects of metaphysical discussion. Almost every thing in the moral world has with him its appropriate simile in the natural; and these are generally most happily applied. His language is condensed, energetic, and harmonious.

As a specimen of the poems of a religious cast, we will extract some stanzas from one of his "*Harmonies*," always craving pardon of our author for the meagre justice we do him in our translation. His devotion is ever marked by a tone of melancholy.

"WHY IS MY SOUL SAD?

"Why groanest thou in ceaseless gloom,
O fainting soul? reply!
Whence doth the weight of sadness come,
'Neath which thy powers so helpless lie?
Into the tomb that waits for all
Thou hast not yet seen sadly fall
Thy youth's last-cherished friend;
Thy star of life with unquenched ray
Lifts up its head, — then wherefore, say,
Wherefore have yet thy sighs no end?

"Earth hath her scenes of beauty still,
And heaven its days of loveliness, —
Glory her tumults, — yet can thrill
The heart which love has power to bless.
Still to thy glance can nature show
Wonders thou never yet didst know,
Ne'er yet profaned by mortal eyes;
And withering all that hope may yield,
Thy hand in her ungathered field
Hath not yet gained the prize.

"And what is earth? a prison floating sent,
A narrow bourne, a fragile bark, a tent

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Which God but for a day hath reared in space,
Which the swift winds can with a breath embrace;
Its seas and hills, its valley and its plain,
Sprung from the dust, to sink to dust again;
Whose mass unto immensity can be
But as this hour to all eternity;
Clay wrought to noble forms, yet ever clay,
Where all is like, — yet passes all away.

"And what is life? a moment's waking breath,
The brief announcement of a birth and death;
A word the Eternal utters in disdain,
A keyless labyrinth, a question vain;
A fading dream, — a spark in instant flight,
A sudden ray that sinks again in night;
A moment time lends and withdraws from man,
Worth not the word that marks its date, — a span!

"And fame? a vain sound caught from side to side,
The very arch-mock of poor human pride;
A name on mortal lips of sovereign sway,
Deceitful, fickle, perishing as they;
Which mighty now, now weak as failing sighs,
From month to month on to oblivion flies;
The poisoned nectar that bewilders pride,
Which twice slays him who fain would ne'er have died!

"And what is love? Ah, ready for the theme,
My lips denying fear they may blaspheme;
Alone above the utterance of a name,
The pure light of the soul's internal flame;
A living spark snatched from the fires on high,
A car that bears us upward to the sky;
The lightning of the sense; the quenchless sun
That melts two human spirits into one;
It is — it would be all, if all could be,
Could mortal heart contain this mystery,
Or if, like fires by heaven its emblem made,
Its flame exhaled sank not in hopeless shade.

"But when these goods that mortals crave
Upon a single heart o'erflow,
Death on the borders of the grave
Makes of our happiness a woe!
The wave of time that bears us down
Waits not that human joy may crown
With florid growth its speeding tide;

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O fugitive and short-lived race,
Where can your seedlings find a place
This ever-fleeting stream beside?

"Still it sweeps on, — its wasted shore
Tells me the goodly time is flown;
Still on, — and my green years no more
Appear, — they too from sight are gone.
The schemes to which a hope can cling
Are like the floating buoy they fling
Upon the sailor's changing trace;
Which but recedes in mounting swell
The vessel's measured course to tell
That cleaves the sullen water's face.

"My days, discolored by my woe,
Uncounted glide away;
My heart, alas! beats even now
'Neath vanished pleasure's sway.
Beneath my steps the earth is clad
With many a palm yet green and glad,
But they survive my weak desire;
Objects of cherished love and trust
Still, still are there, upon the dust
Cooled by my sighs, which there expire.

"I see pass on and smile again
The enchantress of each early year;
Who held me long in passion's chain,
Whose very steps my heart held dear.
Her golden locks yet downward stream,
The bright tints born of morning's beam
Blush on her cheek, like crimson rays;
In her blue eyes whose glance could thrill,
Enough of light there lingers still
To fascinate a lover's gaze.

"The crowd who on her way divide,
Pursue her with admiring glance;
Their homage swells her youthful pride,
The murmurs sweet her ears entrance.
For me, I smile while passing on;
All lightly from my heart is gone
That dream of deep felicity.
I ask, with pity in my soul,
'Love! can thy flame that scorns control,
Ere beauty that awakes it, die?'

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"Ah! what remains to life bereft,
When youthful love is borne away?
What to our dazzled eyes is left,
When dies the lovely summer's day?
That which is left the empty sail
When the last faint expiring gale
Is hushed upon the slumbering main;
That which is left the barren mead,
When tempest wings, with thunderous speed,
Have swept to earth the scattered grain.

"Yet still must live this breathing clay,
Must watch and sleep and wake in turn;
Still lingering on from day to day,
The waxing burden must be borne.
When to the very dregs we drain
The foaming cup of life, — what gain
Could we the empty bowl destroy!
To hope, — to wait, — and this is life!
What need to count 'mid cares and strife
Days that can bring no more of joy?

"Lo! therefore, wearied is my soul,
The thrall of empty fears again;
Therefore my fancies restless roll,
Like sickness on his bed of pain.
Therefore my wild and wandering thought,
Even as the wounded dove, hath sought,
But nowhere found, its wished repose;
Therefore I've turned me from the view
Of this sad world, vain, wild, untrue,
And cried to God, whence comfort flows.

"As the stern north's tempestuous blast
Lifts the poor sparrow from his nest,
And bears him up the storm-clouds past,
Far from his parent spot of rest, —
Unharmed his fainting wings, — the gale
Upholds him still, — he seems to sail
Safe cradled on its wings of might;
So that sole thought with heavenly sway
Bears my oppressed soul away
Even to the Eternal Source of light!" &c.

The following graceful little *morceau* is in a different strain;

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"LE PAPILLON.

"Born with the spring, with summer's rose to die,
To float in heaven on zephyr's pinions bright,
Cradled upon the half-closed flower to lie,
Drunken with sweets, with beauty, and with light,—
Then, the dust shaking from his wings elate,
Like the light breeze ascend the blue serene,
Such is the butterfly's enchanted fate!
How like desire, that ne'er at rest hath been,
But still unsated o'er earth's bright things flies,
Then soars to seek his pleasures in the skies!"

L'Homme is in manner an imitation of Pope; it has many striking passages, though we object to the exuberance of epithets at its commencement. *L'Enthousiasme* is full of beautiful imagery, though apparently imitated from an ode of Rousseau. The following idea in one of the stanzas is forcible and highly poetical;

"Foyers brûlans de la lumière,
Nos cœurs de la nature entière
Doivent concentrer les rayons."

Le Lac is remarkable for elegance and harmony, and, we have heard, is a particular favorite with the author. *La Gloire*, to the banished Portuguese poet, Manoël, is also admirable, and breathes the sentiments of a lofty and independent mind. Among M. de Lamartine's fine figures, we were struck by the following, illustrating the destiny and resources of the poet in misfortune;

"Ainsi l'aigle superbe au séjour du tonnerre
S'élance, et, soutenant son vol audacieux,
Semble dire aux mortels; 'Je suis né sur la terre,
Mais je vis dans les cieux.'"

La Foi and *La Prière* are worthy of notice from their solemnity of religious feeling. *Le Génie* contains a beautiful comparison, which we cannot refrain from quoting;

"Hast seen, in old Olympic race,
Around the steeds and chariots light,
The rising dust-clouds fill the space
And snatch them from the wondering sight?

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So on the track of genius long
The clouds of pale-eyed envy throng,
Hang o'er the still-disputed ground;
Till, reached at length the glorious goal,
Forth from the mists that round him roll,
The victor is revealed and crowned."

Le Golf de Baya has much fine poetry. In *Bonaparte*, some of the verses are imitated from Manzoni. *Le Poète Mourant* is one of the most magnificent lyrics we ever read. Its grandeur and richness of imagery are unsurpassed. Every line is poetical in conception and style. It would alone have secured to its author a place among the highest. There is a gorgeous brilliancy in every stanza of the poem; but its ornament is never misplaced or meretricious. What, for instance, can be more striking than such verses as the following?

"Je jette un nom de plus à ces flots sans rivage,
Au gré des vents, du ciel, qu'il s'abîme, ou surnage,
En serai-je plus grand? Pourquoi? ce n'est qu'un nom.
Le cygne qui s'envole aux voûtes éternelles,
Amis! s'informe-t-il si l'ombre de ses ailes
Flotte encore sur un vil gazon?

"Mais pourquoi chantais tu? Demande à Philomèle,
Pourquoi, durant les nuits, sa douce voix se mêle
Au doux bruit des ruisseaux sous l'ombrage roulant;
Je chantais, mes amis, comme l'homme respire,
Comme l'oiseau gémit, comme le vent soupire,
Comme l'eau murmure en coulant."

Les Préludes are entitled to especial admiration, on account of the harmony of the language with the various subjects treated. The clamorous onset of the battle, the wailing of sorrow, and the soft, sweet strains of pastoral aspirations, are appropriately expressed. The *Chant d'Amour* is luxuriant in description. Of the "*Harmonies*," *La Perte de l'Anio*, *Le Tombeau d'une Mère*, *Hymne de la Mort*, *Hymn de l'Ange de la Terre*, *Cantique*, and *Novissima Verba*, are among the best. *Hymne de l'Enfant à son Reveil* is not in good taste, as the child thinks of every thing most unlikely to be thought of by a child under such circumstances.

The following lines occur in an apostrophe to Italy.

"Mais, semblable à César à son heure suprême,
Qui du manteau sanglant s'enveloppa lui-même,

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Quel que soit le destin que couve l'avenir,
Terre! enveloppe-toi de ton grand souvenir!"

The elaborate comparison of the human soul to a torrent and the wind, is very fine, but evidently suggested by the lines of Metastasio on the same subject. — The annexed verse is from the "Hymn of Death";

"Thou diest, ay, thy mortal frame
Earth's common law doth now obey;
No more thou feel'st the sickening claim,
The soul-debasing weight of clay!
And that debasing weight was life!
The moment which doth end the strife,
Men call it death! So, freed from pain,
The bondsman fancies, with the chain,
The limb that wore the fetters borne away!"

The philosophy of "A Mother's Tomb" would hardly be convincing to a determined skeptic; yet it is full of tenderness, and shows a right heart. Lamartine's reply to Sir Walter Scott's "Farewell" is a noble production, and displays an intense appreciation of the genius of the person he addressed. The opening is very beautiful; and we were also particularly struck by the following lines, illustrative of the mutable spirit of the present age.

"C'en est fait; la parole a soufflé sur les mers,
Le chaos bout et couve un second univers,
Et pour le genre humain que le sceptre abandonne,
Le salut est dans tous, et n'est plus dans personne.
A l'immense roulis d'un océan nouveau,
Aux oscillations du ciel et du vaisseau,
Aux gigantesques flots qui croulent sur nos têtes,
On sent que l'homme aussi double un cap des tempêtes,
Et passe sous la foudre et sous l'obscurité
Le tropique orageux d'une autre humanité!"

We have heard it said by a relative of the poet, that M. de Lamartine composes with surprising facility. We should have supposed as much, for it is only from a soil of overflowing richness, that such flowers can spring; and their growth must always be spontaneous. In his own example he has asserted the truth of the adage, "Poeta nascitur."

"Jamais aucune main sur la corde sonore
Ne guida dans ses jeux ma main novice encore.

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L'homme n'enseigne pas ce qu'inspire le ciel;
Le ruisseau n'apprend pas à couler dans sa pente,
L'aigle à fendre les airs d'une aile indépendante,
L'abeille à composer son miel."

In an essay recently published upon the "Destinies of Poetry," Lamartine has expressed his conviction that a change, corresponding with the spirit of the age, is to take place in poetry. It has no longer sustained vigor or spontaneous freshness, sufficient for productions like those conceived at its earliest period, at the "first waking of human thought." Hence it can no more be lyric, in the old and strict sense of the term. Nor is the epic any longer suited to the condition of men. They have lived, as he says, too long, and reflected too much, to find amusement in protracted narrative or description; while the realities of existence have destroyed their taste for the marvellous. Nor do the vicissitudes of real life leave much room for the dramatic; and society requires more of stirring and startling interest than formerly, for its amusement. The stage cannot afford the stimulus which may be found in every-day incidents. Poetry in future, proceeds M. de Lamartine, will partake of the coloring of the times through which it is to pass. It will be more sincere, more intimate, more real than before. It will imbody the inmost thoughts of men. Such is the kind of poetry Lamartine himself has given us. The deep feelings, the enthusiasm, the pious affections of his nature are laid open to us. It is philosophical and religious, like the mind of the author.

He has beautifully painted the ministrations of the spirit of poesy in the different periods of life, in a poem called the "Guardian Genius," published in his essay on the "Destinies of Poetry." This ever-sympathizing power is represented as accompanying man in every age, the inspirer of elevated thought, the partaker of every joy, the alleviater of every sorrow.

We take leave with regret of M. de Lamartine, of whom we have so little reason to complain, and turn to Béranger, whom we have often heard styled his rival, though in truth they are by no means rivals, being eminent in different departments. Gayety and wit belong as appropriately to the one, as elevation to the other. Béranger has more originality, but his themes are newer, and he has studied to please the multitude. The persecution to which he has been subjected has

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contributed also in no slight degree to the popularity of his works, if his light and graceful effusions can be called by such a name. They have been eagerly sought after and read, both at home and abroad. Perhaps he is better known in this country, than any living French poet; and the numerous translations of his songs, printed in various periodicals, render it almost a superfluous task to comment upon them. But most of the English versions we have seen, have failed to give an adequate idea of the *manner* of the gay *chansonnier*. It is almost impossible to imitate successfully the ease, vivacity, and playful satire, which constitute the charm of his poems. Sometimes he is serious, pathetic, and even solemn; and then the task is easier. *Le Dieu de bonnes Gens*, *La Déesse*, *Les Hirondelles*, *Les Étoiles qui filent*, and many others, are of this class. *Le Chant du Cosaque* and *La Sainte Alliance des Peuples* are spirited and noble odes, particularly the last. *Le Juif créant* has a touching moral, as also *La Pauvre Femme*, which we must make room for. We have a reminiscence of having somewhere read a translation of this poem, and though we cannot recall it to memory, we are not clear that some few of the lines are not in the version we have made. This we suspect, from the facility with which some of the words have been suggested to our mind.

"LA PAUVRE FEMME.

"It snows, — it snows, — and on the pavement there
An aged woman kneeling prays;
Keen blows the wind, her tattered limbs are bare,
She waits for bread with anxious gaze.
Groping, alone, upon the church-door stone,
Winter and summer, there is she;
She 's blind, alas! this poor old crone;
Ah! give the wretch your charity!

"And know you who she was in other days,
This withered creature, sad and wan?
The idol of a wondering people's gaze,
She charmed all Paris with her song.
The young in transports sweet of smiles or tears
Before her beauty bowed the knee,
To her all owed the dreams of earlier years, —
Ah! give the wretch your charity!

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"How often, turning from the brilliant scene,
Still followed by the eager crowd,
The idol of their worship has she been,
Pursued by plaudits long and loud!
To lead her to the car her gate before,
The servants of her will to be, —
How many waited, emulous, at her door!
Ah! give the wretch your charity!

"When all the arts had wove her brilliant crown,
How stately was her dwelling then!
What crystals, bronzes, columns of renown,
Tributes of love to love again!
In all her banquets faithful minstrels sung
The cup of her prosperity, —
Now in those domes the swallows rear their young, —
Ah! give the wretch your charity!

"Terrible fate! one day of sickness dread
Destroyed her voice, sealed up her eyes;
And, poor and lonely, she has begged her bread
For twenty years, where now she sighs.
No hand more ready e'er abroad to send
Her gold to gladden misery,
Than that which now she scarcely can extend, —
Ah! give the wretch your charity!

"The wind blows keener, — Jesu shelter thee!
Her tattered limbs are stiff and cold;
Scarce can her fingers grasp the rosary
That soothed her every grief of old.
Crushed by such woes, if her sad bosom more
Can nourish tender piety,
For faith in Heaven, whose mercy she implores,
Ah! give the wretch your charity!"

One of the most deeply pathetic of these songs is *Le vieux Caporal*. We doubt if many can read it without disobeying the injunction of the veteran, — "Ne pleurez pas." We confess we prefer Béranger's pathos to his humor, and would rest on his more serious productions his claims to immortality. We think our readers will thank us for directing their notice to the following stanzas.

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"LES ÉTOILES QUI FILENT.

"— Berger, tu dis que notre étoile
Règle nos jours et brille aux cieux;
— Oui, mon enfant; mais dans son voile,
La nuit la dérobe à nos yeux.
— Berger, sur cette azur tranquille,
De lire on te croit le secret;
Quelle est cette étoile qui file
Qui file, file, et disparaît?

"— Mon enfant, un mortel expire;
Son étoile tombe à l'instant;
Entre amis que la joie inspire,
Celui-ci buvait en chantant;
Heureux, il s'endort immobile
Auprès du vin qu'il célébrait; —
— Encore une étoile qui file,
Qui file, file, et disparaît.

"— Mon enfant, qu'elle est pure et belle!
C'est celle d'un objet charmant.
Fille heureuse, amante fidèle,
On l'accorde au plus tendre amant;
Des fleurs ceignent son front nubile,
Et de l'Hymen l'autel est prêt; —
— Encore une étoile qui file,
Qui file, file, et disparaît.

"— Mon fils, c'est l'étoile rapide
D'un très grand seigneur nouveau-né;
Le berceau qu'il a laissé vide
D'or et de pourpre était orné.
Des poisons qu'un flatteur distille
C'était à qui le nourrirait; —
— Encore une étoile qui file,
Qui file, file, et disparaît.

"— Mon enfant, quel éclair sinistre!
C'était l'astre d'un favori,
Qui se croyait un grand ministre
Quand de nos maux il avait ri.
Ceux qui servaient ce dieu fragile,
Ont déjà caché son portrait; —
— Encore un étoile qui file,
Qui file, file, et disparaît.

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"— Mon fils, quels pleurs seront les nôtres!
D'un riche nous perdons l'appui;
L'indigence glane chez d'autres,
Mais elle moissonait chez lui.
Ce soir même, sûr d'un asile,
A son toit le pauvre accourait; —
— Encore une étoile qui file,
Qui file, file, et disparait.

"— C'est celle d'un puissant monarque!
Va, mon fils, garde ta candeur;
Et que ton étoile ne marque
Par l'éclat ni par la grandeur.
Si tu brillez sans être utile,
A ton dernier jour on dirait,
Ce n'est qu'une étoile qui file,
Qui file, file, et disparait."

We doubt whether any thing more poetical in explanation of a falling star could have been conceived. — *Jacques* touchingly displays a scene of distress such as the author must have been frequently compelled to witness, familiarly as he has observed the habits of the lower classes. We resist the temptation to quote it and many more, and must content ourselves to recommend it, with others of equal beauty, to the attention of our readers. To most of them, this recommendation will be superfluous.

Before we close the chapter of French poetry, we must not forget to mention the minor poems of M. Victor Hugo, many of which do honor to the distinguished novelist. He has published a collection entitled "Leaves of Autumn," which will hardly prove as fugitive as their name would indicate. We shall content ourselves with presenting as a specimen of his powers in this way, his beautiful lines called *Son Nom*, unrivalled, in our opinion, in love poetry.

"Le parfum d'un lis pur, l'éclat d'un auréole,
La dernière rumeur du jour, —
La plainte d'un ami qui s'afflige et console,
L'adieu mystérieux de l'heure qui s'envole,
Le doux bruit d'un baiser d'amour, —

"L'écharpe aux sept couleurs que l'orage en la nue
Laisse, comme un trophée, au soleil triomphant,
L'accent inspiré d'une voix reconnue,
Le vœu le plus secret d'une vierge ingénue,
Le premier rêve d'un enfant, —

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"Le chant d'un chœur lointain, le soupir qu'à l'aurore
Rendait le fabuleux Memnon,
La murmure d'un son qui tremble et s'évapore,
Tout ce que la pensée a de plus doux encore,
O lyre, est moins doux que son nom!

"Prononce-le tout bas, ainsi qu'une prière,
Mais que dans tous nos chants il résonne à la fois!
Qu'il soit du temple obscur la secrète lumière!
Qu'il soit le mot sacré, qu'au fond du sanctuaire
Redit toujours la même voix!

"O mes amis! avant qu'en paroles de flamme
Ma muse, égarant son essor,
Ose aux noms profanés qu'un vain orgueil proclame,
Mêler ce chaste nom que l'amour dans mon âme
A caché, comme un saint tresor,

"Il faudra que le chant de mes hymnes fidèles
Soit comme un de ces chants qu'on écoute à genoux;
Et que l'air soit ému de leurs voix solennelles,
Comme si, secouant ses invisibles ailes,
Un ange passait près de nous." *

We hope we have succeeded in showing, that there is at present no dearth of poetical talent in France. It is, indeed,

* A translation of this poem, before printed, may not be unacceptable to our readers.

"HER NAME.

"The lily's perfume pure, fame's crown of light,
The latest murmur of departing day,
Fond friendship's plaint, that melts in pity's sight,
The mystic farewell of each hour in flight,
The kiss which beauty grants with coy delay,—

"The sevenfold scarf that parting storms bestow
A trophy to the proud, triumphant sun;
The thrilling accent of a voice we know,
The love-enthralled maiden's secret vow,
An infant's dream, ere life's first sands are run,—

"The chant of distant choirs, the morning's sigh
Which erst inspired the fabled Memnon's frame,—
The melodies that, murmured, trembling die,—
The sweetest gems that 'mid thought's treasures lie,
Have nought of sweetness that can match HER NAME!

"Low be its utterance, like a prayer divine,
Yet in each warbled song be heard the sound!

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perverted by corrupt taste, and clouded by gross faults. The prevalence of dramatic productions, and the eagerness with which the populace throng to witness exhibitions hideously immoral, but sustained by the vitiated tastes and political passions of the multitude, have exerted the most pernicious effect both on their writers and the public. But such minds as that of M. de Lamartine cannot be without their influence; and we may therefore hope that a change in this respect, as complete as the recent one from the monotonous formality of the old school, will before long take place.

ART. IV. — 1. *Voyage de l'Arabie Petrée, par* MM. LÉON DE LABORDE *et* LINANT. Fol. XII. Livraisons. Paris. 1830–1834.

2. *Journey through Arabia Petræa, to Mount Sinai and the excavated City of Petra, the Edom of the Prophecies.* By M. LÉON DE LABORDE. London; Murray. 1836.

THE French work named above is a splendid memorial of private taste and enterprise. MM. Laborde and Linant, after having previously travelled, the one through the deserts and desolate monuments of antiquity in Asia Minor and Syria, and the other among the ruined temples and mysterious remains of still remoter ages in Upper Egypt and Nubia, associated themselves for an excursion from Cairo over the peninsula of Mount Sinai to the ruins of Petra, the ancient capital of Edom, and subsequently of the kingdom of Arabia Petræa. The fruits of their enterprising spirit are displayed in this work; which

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Be it the light in darksome fanes to shine,
The sacred word which at some hidden shrine
The self-same voice for ever makes resound!

"O friends! ere yet, in living words of flame,
My muse, bewildered in her soarings wide,
With names the vaunting lips of pride proclaim,
Shall dare to blend the *one*, the purer name,
Which love a treasure in my breast doth hide,—

"Must the wild lay my faithful harp can sing,
Be like the hymns which mortals, kneeling, hear;
To solemn harmonies attuned the strings,
As, music shaking from his viewless wings,
On heavenly airs some angel hovered near."

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contains no less than ninety-seven plates and maps, and forty-seven wood cuts, representing scenery and objects which they met with in their journey; but devoted chiefly to the delineation of the wondrous ruins of the Idumean metropolis. The plates are accompanied by a body of text, consisting of an historical Introduction, an Explanation of the Plates, (in which the wood-cuts are interspersed,) and an Itinerary from Suez to Akaba and Petra. The drawings from which the engravings were made, are the joint productions of the two travellers; while the text is from the pen of M. Laborde alone. The whole forms a splendid folio volume, corresponding in size and plan to the great French work on Egypt, to which it thus becomes an appropriate supplement. The subscription price is two hundred and forty francs, or something more than forty-five dollars.

When we first arranged the plan of this article, we must confess, that, like some of our London brethren,* we had not seen the original work; nor could we learn that a single copy of it had reached this country. We have, however, since seen a copy in a bookstore in New York, the only one, of which we have as yet been able to hear. The little attention which has hitherto been directed to it abroad, is probably the cause of this neglect on the part of our literary men and public libraries. We cannot but hope, that even our present notice may bring this important work to the knowledge of some, who will be prompt to procure it; and we trust that at least the library of Harvard University, which is justly proud of having long possessed the magnificent work on Egypt, will suffer no great interval to elapse, ere the present supplement shall be added to its treasures.

Of the English work, professing to be a translation of M. Laborde's text, with copies of the plates on a reduced scale, we cannot speak in terms equally favorable. It was doubtless the wish and intent of the eminent publisher, Mr. Murray, to place before the English reader in *octavo*, and at a moderate expense, all that the French work exhibits in folio at a far higher cost. Such a plan could not but be in every respect laudable; and it might also be entirely proper to omit a portion of the less important plates, such, for instance, as present only architectural plans and minor details. But, unfortunately,

* See the British Critic, and the Asiatic Journal, for October, 1836.

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the preparation of the work was intrusted to an anonymous editor, who has proved himself entirely incompetent to the task. The merest tyro in the French language and in historical geography, could not have made a worse translation, nor a more bungling use of the materials before him in the original work. To say nothing further of the frequent Gallicisms, which disfigure the style and often obscure the sense, the translator, instead of following the simple plan above suggested, has undertaken to construct a new work out of the materials of M. Laborde's text. He professes to have brought together the different parts into one "continuous whole," throughout which the plates are interspersed in a reduced form; thus changing entirely the character and object of the original work, by making the plates subsidiary to the text. Nor is this all; for out of the one hundred and forty-four plates and cuts contained in the French work, only sixty-five are given in the English copy. The consequence of this change of arrangement in the text is, that the descriptions of M. Laborde, which, as merely explanatory of the plates, were very properly disconnected and general, become, as parts of a continuous narrative, meagre and unsatisfactory, such as the French author doubtless would not have given, had they been the main object of his work. The translator has also prefixed to the work "two chapters, comprising an account of ancient Idumea, and a summary of the remarks made upon Petra by preceding travellers." This would have been a very fitting addition, if well executed; but these "two chapters" are so superficial and loose in respect to facts, and so full of mere assumptions, that the reader is left quite as much in the dark as before. Besides, they are so inserted as to seem to belong to M. Laborde's own text; at least the three or four first pages of Chap. I, are certainly from his pen; and the language then proceeds without the least hint of a change of writers. Whatever our estimate may be of M. Laborde's own contributions, we cannot hold it honest, thus even apparently to foist upon him the opinions of another person, which are obviously worth nothing.

The very title of the English volume is a misnomer. The simple "Voyage de l'Arabie Petrée," becomes in the translator's hands a "Journey *through* Arabia Petræa, *to* Mount Sinai and the excavated city of Petra, *the ancient Edom!*" What could we think of the knowledge and accuracy of a

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writer, who should translate the title "Voyage de la Palestine," as follows; "Journey through Palestine, to Mount Tabor and Jerusalem, the ancient Judea"? Yet this would be a case exactly parallel. — Another blemish, which has arisen doubtless from reducing the original materials to a "continuous whole," is the omission of many dates. We were for a long time unable to ascertain even the year in which the journey of M. Laborde was performed; incidentally we discovered from a note in Ruppell's *Reisen* (p. 250), that it took place in the year 1828; and we afterwards found in the English work itself (p. 51) the date of February 25, 1828, assigned as the time of the departure of the travellers from Cairo. This and the notation of a few succeeding days up to the time of reaching Akaba, are the only dates given in the whole volume; although in the original, the daily dates of the Itinerary are continued until the arrival of the travellers at Petra, on the 26th of March.

We have neither time nor patience to proceed further with this catalogue of error and incompetency; but there are yet two examples of ignorance so glaring, that justice to ourselves requires us not to pass them over in silence. The first is found on pp. 140, 141, of the English copy, where M. Laborde, in travelling up the great valley El Araba from Akaba to Petra, mentions the Wady Garandel or Gharendel, a valley which descends from the eastern range of mountains, and opens into El Araba some leagues south of Petra. This Wady was also traversed by Burckhardt, through its whole length; and, emerging from it, this traveller crossed El Araba on his way to Cairo, over the western desert.* The English editor intended doubtless to subjoin to M. Laborde's text the account which Burckhardt gives of this same valley; but instead of this, he has given in a note Burckhardt's account of the other Wady Gharendel or Ghirondel, which is found on the western coast of the peninsula of Mount Sinai, about two days' journey from Suez! This is done apparently without the slightest suspicion as to the identity of the two places; and is very much the same, as if a geographer should undertake to elucidate the position of Bethlehem in Judea, by subjoining a description of Bethlehem in Pennsylvania. "There is a

* *Travels in Syria, etc., 4to. p. 441.*

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river in Macedon; and there is also moreover a river at Monmouth . . . . . and there is salmons in both."

The other instance is, if possible, still worse. M. Laborde relates (p. 106) that two of his guides went out to hunt the gazelle, the timid and delicate animal of the antelope genus, whose large and brilliant eye is the standing emblem of beauty in all Oriental poets. These animals are not infrequent in the peninsula; and at another time our traveller himself aided in shooting one from a flock near Mount Serbal (p. 246). On the present occasion, however, the guides returned without a gazelle, but bringing in their cloaks a whole family of the little animal called by the Arabs Weber, Waber, or Wober, consisting of the male, female, and two young ones. This animal is known to naturalists as the *Hyrax*, of which there were formerly supposed to be two species, Hyrax Syriacus, and Hyrax Capensis. Cuvier and other late naturalists regard these as not distinct species; although Nitzsch (not Ritzsch, as even M. Laborde has it,) still speaks of the former. Cuvier has also transferred the hyrax from the class of *rodentes* to that of *pachydermes*, where he places it next after the rhinoceros; remarking, that with the exception of the horn, the hyrax may be regarded as the rhinoceros in miniature.* In its general appearance it is not much unlike the Guinea pig. All this is set forth in the French original with entire perspicuity; a drawing of the animals is given, and they are spoken of only as the hyrax or *oueber;* for so M. Laborde writes it. But the English editor, knowing nothing either of gazelle or hyrax, seems to have taken it for granted, that, because the guides went out to hunt the gazelle, therefore the animals they brought back were of necessity gazelles; and he goes on to speak of them repeatedly as such, where in the original there is not the slightest ground for even the possibility of such a misconception! As well might any one in this country confound a deer with a woodchuck, or a calf with a rabbit.

We turn now to the French travellers; and, after a brief account of their route and personal adventures, we shall endeavour to present some general views of the topography and history of Mount Sinai, and the Land of Edom, with its singular metropolis, chiefly as connected with the illustration of the Scriptures; not confining ourselves to the materials fur-

* Cuvier, Règne Anim. 1829, Vol. I. p. 248.

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nished by M. Laborde, which of course are scanty; but drawing from all the sources within our reach, and pointing out, as we go along, whatever additions M. Laborde and his companion have made to the materials furnished by their predecessors.

The reader must not look, in M. Laborde, for that patience and accuracy and thoroughness of observation which characterize the Travels of Niebuhr and Burckhardt; nor, on the other hand, does he exhibit the looseness and glowing hyperbole of Bruce and Chateaubriand. He seems to have travelled rather as a man of taste than of science, — for the gratification of his own spirit of enterprise in archæological pursuits, rather than with the view of making scientific researches for the benefit of the learned world. The self-complacency of the Frenchman never forsakes him; and we see in his frequent errors of fact and of historical opinion, evidence of superficial research and a too ready credulity. The portions on the ancient commerce of Phenicia and Arabia Petræa, are merely conjectural, and in many parts contradictory of known facts.

The travellers left Cairo on the 25th of February, 1828, and were a month in reaching the object of their journey. The party consisted of MM. Laborde and Linant, a French veteran named Petit-Jean, who had been in the service of the Pasha of Egypt, a dragoman, and a Berber servant. They had nine dromedaries, and put themselves under the direction of four guides from the peninsula of Mount Sinai, Arabs of the Tohrat or Towara, the Bedouins of Tor. They set off from Suez on the 29th, and passing along the usual route of the peninsula, after visiting the ancient tombs of Sarbout el Kadem, they left Mount Sinai on the right, and descended along the Wady Zakal to Dahab on the coast of the Elanitic gulf, perhaps the ancient Dizahab, Deut. i. 1. From this place to Akaba "the coast is bordered by mountains, which, lofty in the distance, decline into low hills as they approach the sea; they afford no traces of vegetation;" and the shore is deeply indented with gulfs. At Akaba the travellers were hospitably received by the Egyptian governor, and entertained in the castle. Hence they despatched messengers to Abou Raschid, the chief of the principal tribe of Arabs in the vicinity of Wady Mousa or Petra,* (well known as the brave and faithful protec-

* M. Laborde speaks of Abou Raschid as chief of the Alouein Arabs, apparently confounding these with the much larger tribe of the Howeytat,

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tor of Mr. Bankes and his party ten years before,) requesting him to come and meet them at Akaba. During the absence of the messengers, the remaining party made an excursion to the valleys on the western shore of the gulf, and visited the little island of Graia or Emrag, of which we shall speak further in the sequel. They left Akaba on this excursion on the 13th of March; and this is the last date which we find in the English volume. The messengers at length returned, not having found Abou Raschid himself, who was absent on an excursion, but having negotiated with a brother and four nephews of that chief, and also with Abou Djazi, the chief of another portion of the same tribe, who was said to have great influence over the Fellahein inhabiting Wady Mousa. This latter chief, as it afterwards turned out, was the very individual who made such violent opposition to the progress of Mr. Bankes and his party, and was only overcome by the noble and determined spirit of Abou Raschid in their favor.* "He was a little old man with a white beard, whose delicate features and cheerful look indicated great benevolence. His costume was characterized by all the simplicity of the desert; the only thing he wore by way of refinement was a piece of white muslin round his kefieh" or turban. These six chiefs arrived soon after, mounted on dromedaries, and accompanied by two men on foot. After an enormous repast at sunset, a regular divan was held in the presence of the governor, and the business of the travellers brought under discussion.

"The first question was put on our side; our object being to know if we could go to Wady Mousa mounted on our dromedaries. Abou Djazi assured us that we could; adding, at the

who inhabit the region around Wady Mousa, though not that valley itself. According to Burckhardt (p. 512), the Alouein are confined to the lower end of the great valley El Araba, near Akaba. In the English copy the name *Akmed* Raschid is often erroneously substituted for *Abou* Raschid, as on pp. 123, 144, 145. It is hardly necessary to remark, that in all which relates to the Arabs and their various tribes, the authority of Burckhardt is far greater than that of M. Laborde.

* Mr. Legh, and also Messrs. Irby and Mangles, call this chief Abou Zatoun, i. e. Father of Olives; and the latter gentlemen mention (p. 391) another chief as one of their opposers, whom they call Ebn Jarzee. To judge from the resemblance of names, the Abou Djazi of M. Laborde was more probably this latter individual. There is great confusion in the use of the words *Abou* and *Ebn*, i. e. father and son, in proper names; Mr. Legh gives the name Ebn Raschid to the chief whom Burckhardt, Irby and Mangles, and Laborde, all call Abou Raschid.

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same time, that he would be answerable for them, and would look upon them as his own. We would [should?] undoubtedly have been perfectly satisfied with this promise; but our Tohrats forthwith proceeded simultaneously to exclaim, and to protest that they would not enter a territory where they had no guarantee for their safety. On the other side, the Alaouins [Howeytat] vociferated that they had nothing to fear, inasmuch as engagements were made in their behalf in the presence of the governor and the topshi (gunner). 'And,' cried out Hussein [our guide] solemnly, standing up at the same time, 'if one of our party be killed, we shall have two Alaouins in exchange.' Upon this the clamor became still louder; each man was anxious to take part in the discussion, and ranged himself on one side or the other. We knew not how to obtain a hearing; and to put an end to this uproar, as our Tohrats no longer listened to us, we arose and returned to our apartments, doubting whether some obstacles to the completion of our journey might not proceed from our own guides. They followed us; but judge of our astonishment when we were alone, on seeing them break out into a burst of laughter, saying that all this clamor was nothing but a *ruse*, in order to compel the Alaouins to pay strict attention to their promises, and to establish, before setting out, all the conditions of the bargain in the most positive manner..... It only remained for us to admire the tactics, by which they contrived to conceal their real fears under the mask of simulated passion throughout this discussion. The whole of this comic scene, so characteristic of the manners of these tribes, served as a lesson to us for the future, teaching us to extract all the benefits we could from the 'hubbub wild' of these Arabs."

The treaty was at length satisfactorily concluded, and their departure fixed for the next day. The chiefs were then questioned as to Burckhardt's visit to their country; but they did not remember having seen or heard of any Frank at that period. So thoroughly had this celebrated traveller acquired the language and manners of the Arabs, that he passed through the midst of their nomadic encampments, regarded simply as a "townsman," and without awakening a suspicion of his real character. As to Mr. Bankes and his companions, Abou Djazi was prudently silent; but the younger chiefs, a few days after, were more communicative. The visit of Messrs. Strangways and Anson was also spoken of, who were said to have reached Wady Mousa under the guidance of a single Arab from Gaza. No account of this visit has ever been

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published, so far as we know; nor indeed have we ever seen any other notice of it.

The chiefs, like true sons of the desert, chose rather to sleep on the ground by the side of their camels in the court, than occupy the rooms which were offered them in the castle. In the afternoon of the following day, March 24th, the whole party set off for Wady Mousa, taking their course along the great valley El Araba, leaving on the right the large valley or Wady Jetoum (Wady Ithem of Burckhardt, p. 511,) which comes down from the northeast, nearly parallel to El Araba. On the morning of the third day, March 26th, at nine o'clock, they had arrived nearly opposite Mount Hor; here they left the great valley and turned into a side valley, called by M. Laborde Wady Pabouchebe, though marked on his map as Wady Abou, which comes down from the east around the southern side of Mount Hor. This brought them at length to the high ground above the ruins of Petra, the great object of their journey. Among these ruins they remained eight days, employed without interruption in examining and sketching the wonders of antiquity by which they were surrounded. They then returned to Akaba by a more eastern route, near the edge of the great eastern desert, and through the Wady Jetoum above mentioned. Soon after leaving Akaba on their return, M. Linant proceeded directly to Cairo; while M. Laborde took a more southern route than before, and, having visited Ras Mohammed, and Tor, returned to Suez by way of the Convent, Mount Serbal, and Wady Mokatteb.

Our travellers appear to have been exempted in a great degree from most of the difficulties and dangers usually incident to a journey in the desert, and among the lawless hordes to whom it is a home. Their means would seem to have been ample, and their previous arrangements were such as to guard against the ordinary privations in respect to food and exposure, to which travellers are subject. They were attended by chiefs of the territory through which they passed, and were thus insured a safe protection. Their only fear appears to have arisen from the Fellahs or Fellahein, inhabiting Wady Mousa and its immediate neighbourhood; from whom, however, they received no molestation. Burckhardt often had to encounter physical want and suffering; and once, when passing with three attendants along the shore to the southward of Akaba, he was attacked by Arabs of another tribe, and one of

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the assailants fell by the hand of his brave and faithful Hamd. Mr. Bankes and his companions were exposed to great difficulties, and even to imminent danger of bloodshed, ere they could reach Wady Mousa. Yet, in the face of all this, the English translator does not hesitate to remark (p. xix), that M. Laborde accomplished his journey "under many serious difficulties and no ordinary privations and dangers;" and that "it will entitle him to be ranked among the most courageous, as well as the most instructive of modern travellers"!

The interest which clusters around the countries of which we have been speaking, has its chief source in their connexion with the events of Scripture history. The peninsula of Sinai was the theatre of that great scene of legislation, which is without a parallel in the records of the world; and which, in its external operation, converted ultimately a collection of nomadic tribes into a nation of fixed abode, and of agricultural and commercial pursuits. It is the hallowed spot, where was founded that theocracy, which, resting upon the knowledge and revelations of the only true God, was the forerunner of the pure and spiritual kingdom of Christianity. Idumea, too, is chiefly distinguished by its early relations to the history of the Jews, and acquires a strong interest from the frequent references made to it by the writers of that nation, especially by the Hebrew prophets.

Not less close and remarkable is the connexion of Edom and Mount Sinai with Palestine, in respect to their physical geography. Near the northeastern corner of the Mediterranean, a branch is thrown off towards the south from the great chain of Mount Taurus, which, under various names and aspects, extends along and beyond the eastern coast of the Mediterranean to the northern shores of the Red Sea. A peculiar feature of this long range of mountains is, that they consist, almost throughout their whole extent, of a double ridge, or two parallel ridges, between which are long valleys extending north and south, watered by rivers. Thus the Orontes flows off to the northward, along the eastern base of Mount Casius, through which it breaks its way to the sea below Antioch. Then come the lofty peaks of Lebanon and his twin-brother, and the deep vale between, along which the Leontes flows towards the south, and meets the sea near Tyre. Nearly opposite Damascus, the ridge of Anti-Lebanon throws off a spur to the south-south-east, under the names of Djebel Sheikh and Djebel

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Heish, the ancient Hermon. In the fork thus formed between Hermon and Anti-Libanus rises the Jordan, which takes its course along the valley, and through the Lake Houle or Merom, into the basin occupied by the Lake of Tiberias. The ridge of Anti-Lebanon, at its southern extremity, sinks down into the hills of Galilee around the western shore of this basin, and terminates in the cliffs which form the northern border of the great plain of Esdraelon, including Mount Tabor. The eastern shore of the basin is formed in like manner by hills, which are the continuation of Hermon. From this lake to the Dead Sea, the deep and strait valley of the Jordan is skirted on the east by the mountains of Gilead and Moab ; and on the west, first by Djebel Gilbo, or Mount Gilboa, between the valley and the great plain, and then by the mountains of Ephraim and Judea, which spread themselves out into broader tracts of mountainous country. At present, the Jordan loses itself in the mysterious bosom of the Dead Sea; but the same broad and deep valley, now covered with sand, and called El Ghor and El Araba, and the same long and parallel ridges of mountains, continue to run on in a direct course southwards from the Dead Sea, forming the Land of Edom, until the former terminates in the waters of the Elanetic Gulf, while the latter continue to skirt that gulf to its entrance from the Red Sea. On the eastern shore of the gulf itself, the chain of mountains retains its narrow base ; while the chain of the western side, heretofore narrower than the eastern, spreads out into clusters and ranges of mountains, which fill the whole region between the Gulfs of Akaba and Suez, and form the peninsula of Mount Sinai.

This chain of mountains, along its whole extent, from Mount Taurus to the Red Sea, is skirted on its eastern side by a vast and high plain or plateau, known towards the north as the Plain of Syria, and further south as the Great Arabian Desert. On the western side of the ranges of mountains, is the narrow coast of Syria and Phenicia, at first a mere strip of land, often interrupted by spurs and promontories from the mountains. Further south is the plain of Sharon ; and then, to the southward of Palestine, comes the desert, the Paran of the Scriptures, extending from the southeast corner of the Mediterranean to the valley El Araba, and to the mountains of the peninsula of Sinai.

After this general sketch, we turn to a more specific view of the countries in question.

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I. The Peninsula of Mount Sinai may be compared in its general form to a right-angled isosceles triangle, of which the right-angle is at Akaba, and the coast from Suez to Cape Ras Mohammed is the hypothenuse. This cape is the dividing point between the Gulf of Suez on the west, and that of Akaba on the east; it lies in lat. 27° 43′ north, and about long. 32° 5′ east from Paris. The general course of the western gulf is from S. S. E. to N. N. W., terminating at Suez in lat. 29° 50′ north, and long. 30° 11′ east. The eastern, or Gulf of Akaba, runs nearly in a direction from south by west to north by east, and ends at Akaba in lat. 29° 31′ north, and about long. 32° 35′ east. Hence, the length of the eastern gulf, from Ras Mohammed to Akaba, is one hundred and eight minutes of latitude, or about one hundred and twenty-five English miles; and the distance from Akaba to Suez is one hundred and forty-eight minutes of longitude, in lat. 30°, which is equivalent to about one hundred and twenty-seven English miles. A straight line, however, from Suez to Akaba, falls wholly to the northward of all the mountains of the peninsula, and coincides nearly with the ancient Roman road marked in the Peutinger Tables, and with the modern Hadj route from Cairo to Mecca.

Near the coast, opposite Suez, begins a range of low hills or mountains, called Ruhat by M. Laborde, which run parallel to the coast for some distance, until interrupted by a high mountain called Sarbout el Djemel by Burckhardt, and Djebel Sal by M. Laborde. Here the range turns more to the eastward and takes the name El Tyh, until it reaches another lofty mountain called El Odjme; where it divides into two ridges, which continue to run parallel until they join the mountains on the western shore of the Gulf of Akaba. North of these mountains is the wide desert, still called El Tyh, or the Desert of Wandering, in allusion to the wanderings of the Israelites, of which it was doubtless in part the scene. Adjacent to the same mountains on the south, is also a narrow desert plain, bearing toward the west the name of Raml el Morak, and toward the east marked on Laborde's map with the name El Seyh. Further south are the proper mountains of the peninsula, comprising the central region of Sinai, as also Serbal, Shomran, and other lofty mountains; with numerous ridges intersected in every direction by deep and precipitous valleys or *wadys*. Of these latter some of the principal are

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Wady Gharendel (the Ghirondel of Niebuhr), probably the Elim of the Israelites, Wady Taybe, Wady Naszb, all running down to the western coast; Wady Mokatteb, parallel to the same coast, and celebrated for its inscriptions; the great Wady el Sheikh extending from northwest to southeast, and forming the usual route from Suez to Sinai; and Wady Zakal, connecting with the preceding on the north of Sinai, and running eastward to the eastern gulf. South of these, the Wady Feiran or Faran leads down from the westerly part of El Sheikh to the western coast; and Wady Hebran leads from Sinai to Tor. On the north, the great Wadys Safran and Salaka extend in the direction from Sinai towards the northern desert and Akaba; and, according to M. Laborde, form the only valley which penetrates the chain of El Tyh, thus affording the only practicable route from Sinai towards the north.

According to Rüppell,* the whole peninsula, in respect to its geological character, may be divided into two parts, by supposing a line drawn from Akaba to the lower extremity of Wady Feiran. To the southeast of this line, the mountains consist chiefly of primitive rocks, of syenite and porphyry formation, and mica slate. The ridges of the primitive mountains run mostly from north to south. On the coast, occasional tracts of limestone are found leaning upon the primitive rocks; as at Tor, Sherm, near Akaba, &c. A plateau, or horizontal stratum of marl, is also found covering a portion of the primitive range southwest of Wady Salaka. On the northwest of the above line, the prevailing formation consists of horizontal strata of limestone, with occasional layers of gypsum, forming throughout a desert almost wholly destitute of vegetation. In this region are also the ancient copper mines near Wady Naszb, among hills of sandstone, which are also occasionally interspersed with thin layers of iron ore.

Water is found in the peninsula in different quantities and of various quality, according to the geological formation. Throughout the granite region, the rain which falls annually is treasured up among the rocks, and flows off gradually through the valleys and under the sands, producing in some of the valleys a luxuriant vegetation. Rüppell mentions four places in the peninsula, as exhibiting the phenomenon of a brook flowing permanently for a few hundred yards, and then again sinking beneath the sands; these are Wadys Ain and Salaka on

* Reisen, p. 179.

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the route from Sinai to Noebe, Wady Feiran, and Wady Hebran. Wady Sheikh also affords good pasturage, and is much frequented by the Bedouins. Burckhardt remarks, that water is always found in plenty in the upper region of Sinai; on which account it is the place of refuge of all the Bedouins, when the lower country is parched up.* Here are found large acacias, and the tarfa tree, from which is produced the modern manna, occasioned by the puncture of an insect. — In those regions where the formation is chiefly of lime and sandstone, the rain-water which falls quickly disappears; and the water occasionally found in the valleys is brackish. The chalky plateaus are here everywhere frightful deserts; while in the wadys is sometimes found a meagre vegetation, and occasional groups of wild palm-trees around the fountains, as in Wady Gharendel. On the western coast, warm springs are found in two places; at Hamam Faroun, near the Birket Faroun, visited by Niebuhr; and that of Hadger Elme, in the garden of the Greek convent Raito, an hour's distance N. N. W. of Tor.

The climate of the peninsula is pure and healthy, although the difference of temperature in the various seasons is great. In the mountains, the winter nights are very cold; and at the Convent, water often freezes in the open air as late as February; while in the summer months, and in the sandy valleys, the sun sends down his burning rays with resistless power. In the month of May, Rüppell experienced on his journey from Akaba a temperature of 34 degrees Réaumur, or 108 Fahrenheit. On the coasts, there falls at all seasons a heavy dew. Fevers and dysenteries are unknown, and ophthalmia is infrequent. The disease which the Arabs stand most in fear of, is the small pox; but as vaccination has been introduced among the Christians of Tor, the benefits of it will also probably spread among the Arab tribes.† But notwithstanding the salubrity of the climate, Rüppell remarks, that very few aged persons are to be found among the inhabitants; and he attributes this to the general deficiency of nourishing food, to the scantiness of their clothing, which affords little protection against the changes of temperature, and to the exposure and

* Travels in Syria, &c., p. 574. In August, 1833, a brook was flowing through the valley of the Convent, and another in El Ledja on the west of Sinai.

† Rüppell, p. 186.

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expenditure of physical strength, incident to their wandering habits of life among these deep valleys and desolate mountains.

The general barrenness of the peninsula is doubtless the reason why the animals found there are so few. Flocks of the mountain goat, Capra Arabica, the *Beden* of the Arabs, are found in the more inaccessible parts of the mountains. The hyrax, of which we have spoken above, makes its abode in the crevices of the rocks, but is rarely found. There are also a few hares, and an occasional troop of gazelles. The *dipus* occurs very rarely; while a species of small porcupine is not unfrequent in the valleys around the convent. The number of hyenas and foxes is very small; yet they are often compelled to resort for food to the fish and marine animals thrown up from the sea. In the adjacent gulfs are found three species of dolphin; and, according to Rüppell, a peculiar species of manatus or sea-cow, belonging probably to the genus halicore, which may have been the animal whose skins the Israelites used for covering the tabernacle, and also for shoes.* Burckhardt also saw "the skin of a large fish, killed on the coast, which was an inch in thickness, and is employed by the Arabs instead of leather for sandals."† The number of land birds is likewise very small; among them are the Pterocles and Perdix, Silviæ and Saxicolæ, a species of finch, and a few larks; but the most frequent are various species of the falcon, especially Falco Brachidactilis and Ater, which prey on fish.

But the great object of attraction in the peninsula, the spot on which the interest, and in some sort the affections, of the whole civilized world are involuntarily turned, is Mount Sinai and its environs. Here the Jew, the Christian, and the Mahommedan find, as in Jerusalem, a point around which their religious feelings all cluster in like manner, if not in like degree; and the wildness and desolation of the scenery around accord well with the solemn awe which religion pours upon the spot. The upper region of Sinai, possessing numerous sources of water, a temperate climate, and the most fertile valleys of the peninsula, was the part best adapted for the residence of a nomadic people, like the Israelites; and here they remained for nearly a year, during which time they were

* Rüppell, p. 187. Comp. Ex. xxv. 5. Num. iv. 6. Ezek. xvi. 10.
† Travels, &c. p. 532.

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numbered and received their laws from the Most High.* This tract is thus described by Burckhardt.

"The upper nucleus of Sinai, composed almost entirely of granite, forms a rocky wilderness of an irregular circular shape, intersected by many narrow valleys, and from thirty to forty miles in diameter. It contains the highest mountains of the peninsula, whose shaggy and pointed peaks, and steep and shattered sides, render it clearly distinguishable from all the rest of the country in view. It is upon this highest region of the peninsula, that the most fertile valleys are found, which produce fruit-trees; they are principally to the west and southwest of the Convent, at three or four hours' distance. Water, too, is always found in plenty in this district; on which account it is the place of refuge of all the Bedouins, when the low country is parched up. I think it probable that this upper country or wilderness is, exclusively, the *Desert of Sinai*, so often mentioned in the account of the wanderings of the Israelites." †

In approaching this elevated region from the northwest, through the Wady el Sheikh, on the 1st of May, Burckhardt writes;

"We now approached the central summits of Mount Sinai, which we had had in view for several days. Abrupt cliffs of granite, from six to eight hundred feet in height, whose surface is blackened by the sun, surround the avenues leading to the elevated region to which the name of Sinai is specifically applied. These cliffs enclose the holy mountain on three sides, leaving the east and northeast sides only, toward the Gulf of Akaba, more open to the view. At the end of three hours we entered these cliffs by a narrow defile about forty feet in breadth, with perpendicular granite rocks on both sides. The ground is covered with sand and pebbles, brought down by the torrent which rushes from the upper region in the winter time." ‡

This defile, where the Wady Sheikh thus breaks through the gigantic bulwarks of Sinai, is also mentioned by M. Laborde, as well as by many other travellers;

"The sides of the valley make a transition from limestone

* We refer here, once for all, to two articles by Professor Robinson, in the earlier volumes of the Biblical Repository; one on the Exodus of the Israelites, Vol. II. p. 765 seq., and the other on the History and Topography of Idumea, Vol. III. p. 287 seq. Whoever consults those articles, will perceive to what extent we are indebted to them.

† p. 573.

‡ p. 488. Compare Niebuhr's Descr. of Arab. p. 401. Carne's Letters from the East, Vol. I. p. 208.

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and chalk to granite, disclosing to view a high primitive mountain, through which there is no passage except a narrow opening between two perpendicular walls of great height. At an angle made by two turnings of this gigantic defile, the point where its seclusion protects it from the rays of the sun, and the voice of man and the cry of the camel are reflected back in sonorous echoes, stands a remarkable isolated rock seven feet in height, [an object of great veneration to the Arabs.] On quitting this passage, the traveller perceives Mount Sinai, whose prominent point is overhung by the mountain St. Catharine, which is more rounded in its form. They were then both capped with snow, and their dark bases seemed to bring out their whitened summits in bolder relief upon the azure ground of the sky." *

In travelling from Akaba to the Convent, Rüppell approached Sinai from the N. N. E. through the Wadys Salaka and Safran ;

"The nakedness of the landscape is frightfully mournful. In the distance lay before us a lofty chain of mountains ; and three summits lift their heads above the whole chain. That in the middle, directly before us, is Djebel Mousa or Sinai ; the southwestern is St. Catharine, the Horeb of some. We penetrated into the chain from the north ; very soon we turned towards the east ; all is here of perpendicular and ragged granite formation. After some hours, we reached the convent, situated in a very narrow valley or chasm of the mountains, which extends from northwest to southeast. One chief object of my visit here was to determine the geographical position of the convent by means of lunar observations; but the mountains around the convent, especially to the south and west, are so lofty and perpendicular, that the moon was visible only for a very short time ; and never at the same time with the sun or planets. †

"The convent is situated," according to Burckhardt, "in a valley so narrow, that one side of the building stands on the side of the [south] western mountain, [Djebel Mousa,] while a space of twenty paces only is left between its walls and the eastern mountain. The valley is open to the north, from whence approaches the road from Cairo; to the south, close beyond the convent, it is shut up by a third mountain, less steep than the others, over which passes the road to Sherm." ‡

The number of monks, when Burckhardt visited the Convent

* Laborde, p. 86, 88, Eng. edit. An engraved view of the upper part of Wady el Sheikh, with Mount Sinai in the distance, is found in Finden's Illustrations of the Bible.

† Reisen, p. 257. ‡ p. 541.

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in 1816, was twenty-three; ten years later, Rüppell gives twenty-six as the whole number of monks and lay brethren. Many of them are old men, in the full possession of their bodily and mental faculties. The relation in which the monks and Arabs stand towards each other is in many respects one of mutual dependence; though the latter domineer over the former, and subject them to all possible exactions and deprivations. Sometimes they even fire into the convent from the neighbouring heights; and while M. Laborde was there, a pilgrim received a shot of this kind in the leg, intended doubtless for some one of the monks toward whom the Arab had a grudge. On account of these troubles, the gate of the convent has been walled up for more than a century; and the only entrance is through a window, to which the traveller is drawn up by a windlass. The monks have a pleasant garden without the convent, to which there is a subterranean passage; the fruit is of the finest quality; but the garden is seldom visited by them, because, although surrounded by high walls, it is not inaccessible to the Bedouins, who often carry off the fruits; thus compelling the monks to repurchase their own fruits from the pilferers, or to buy it in other parts of the peninsula.* M. Laborde gives us several views of the convent and the adjacent scenery, which are far superior to those of Pococke and Niebuhr.

Immediately behind the convent, towards the southwest, rises Djebel Mousa, or the proper Sinai; and the path begins to ascend directly from the walls of the convent. This path consists of stone steps regularly laid, but now greatly out of repair. After a steep ascent of three quarters of an hour, there is a small plain, or lower summit, called Djebel Oreb, which is not improbably the Horeb of the Scriptures, where the fiery bush was seen by Moses, and where the law is sometimes said to have been given. M. Laborde remarks, that "Mount Horeb forms a kind of breast, from which Sinai rises. The former alone is seen from the valley." On this part of the mountain is a large building called the Convent of St. Elias, now abandoned. From hence there is a yet steeper ascent of half an hour, still towards the southwest, through a species of ravine, to the summit of Djebel Mousa, where are found the ruins of a church and of a mosque. The view from this summit is very grand. On the W. S. W. of Sinai lies the

* Burckhardt, p. 549.

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still higher mountain of St. Catharine, separated from Sinai by a narrow valley, in which there is a deserted convent called El Erbayin, or the Convent of the Forty Martyrs. The eastern side of St. Catharine is famous for its pasturage; and a luxuriant vegetation reaches nearly to its summit.* But all the rest of the landscape, as seen from Sinai, "is a sea of desolation. It would seem as if [the peninsula] had once been an ocean of lava; and that while its waves were running literally mountains high, it was commanded suddenly to stand still."† In the valley between the two mountains, where the convent El Erbayin is situated, monkish tradition has fixed the site of Rephidim; and about twenty minutes' walk northward from this convent, is shown the rock out of which water is said to have issued. This valley is very narrow and stony, and is now called El Ledja; at forty minutes' walk northeastward from El Erbayin, it opens into the broader valley which leads southeastward to the convent. At this point, on the northern side of Sinai, the valley has considerable width, and forms a plain capable of containing a large number of people. The sketches which M. Laborde has given us of different points in these valleys, and likewise of the ascent of Sinai, probably afford us as good an idea of these places, as one can hope to obtain without personal observation on the spot.

The altitude of these mountains has never been accurately determined. Ehrenberg, on very defective thermometrical data, estimates the elevation of the convent above the sea at 5400 [Paris?] feet.‡ Rüppell, judging as it would seem more correctly from the botanical productions of the region, and from the fact that even in winter snow rarely falls here and lies only a short time, supposes the convent to be certainly not more than 3500 Paris feet above the sea.§ The former traveller also estimates the height of Sinai above the convent at 2000 feet, and that of Mount St. Catharine at 3000 feet; making the latter higher than Sinai by one half. Without raising a question as to the height of Sinai, (which we are disposed to hold as being given with tolerable correctness,) we apprehend there must be an error in the estimate respecting St. Catharine; for although all travellers represent the

* Burck. p. 572. † Sir F. Henniker's Travels, p. 235.
‡ Naturgesch. Reisen, Th. I. p. xvii, xviii. Berl. 1828.
§ Reisen, p. 260 seq.

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latter as higher than Sinai, yet no one speaks of the difference as so enormously great. The data, too, on which the estimate of Sinai is founded, viz. the number of steps in the ascent, seem to us not to bear out the conclusion; for in the first place, we doubt whether there were ever exactly 3000 steps, as stated by Pococke and Ehrenberg; and then, we know that they are not all of them over one foot in height, as the latter traveller affirms. If so, the height of the mountain could not be taken at less than 3000 feet. But we have the testimony of a very intelligent eyewitness, who visited the peninsula in 1833, that the steps are in many places interrupted for a quarter of a mile or more; and further, that they are sometimes three feet high, and sometimes three inches.*

The time when Mount Sinai began to be visited as a place of religious reverence and pilgrimage, is veiled in the mists of antiquity. Deeply as this spot was venerated by the Jews, their Scriptures contain no mention of any visit made to it, except by the prophet Elijah in his flight from the machinations of Jezebel. † It was most probably in the earliest centuries of Christianity, when pilgrimages to shrines and holy places came in vogue, that the peninsula also became the scene of pious journeys, and at length the frequent abode of hermits and monks. The numerous inscriptions in Wady Mokatteb and elsewhere, (of which we shall say more anon,) go to show that the throng of pilgrims must have been very great at an early period. The convent of Mount Sinai dates, according to tradition, from the fourth century, when the empress Helena is said to have built a church here; but the present building was erected by the emperor Justinian, in the sixth century.

But however firmly the identity of the present Sinai as the place of the giving of the law, may be fixed, both by tradition

* We allude here to Mr. Catherwood, well known in Europe and this country, in all that relates to Palestine and Egypt, as a skilful architect and draftsman, whose acquaintance we have had the pleasure of making since the preceding paragraphs of the text were written. He estimates the height of Sinai above the convent at about 2000 feet; and supposes Mount St. Catharine to be not more than from 50 to 100 feet higher. The elevation of the convent above the sea he does not regard as being much, if any, more than 2000 feet. We are happy to learn from this gentleman, that the accurate trigonometrical survey of the Red Sea by order of the English East India Company, in 1833, included also the Gulf of Akaba. The public will wait impatiently for the publication of the results.

† 1 Kings xix. 8.

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and by various circumstances, yet other circumstances would seem to indicate a still earlier tradition in favor of another mountain, Serbal, situated at some distance west by north of Sinai. "Mount Serbal is separated from the upper region of Sinai by some valleys, especially Wady Hebran; and it forms, with several neighbouring mountains, a separate cluster, terminating in peaks, the highest of which appears to be as high as Mount St. Catharine. It borders on Wady Feiran."* Burckhardt ascended Mount Serbal, and found a regular path of steps leading up to the summit, and many inscriptions on the rocks; while Sinai and St. Catharine exhibit no inscriptions. These facts seem to indicate that Serbal was at one time the chief place of pilgrimage in the peninsula, and was then considered as the place where Moses received the law; though Burckhardt gives it expressly as his conviction, founded on personal observation, "that the Israelites encamped in the upper Sinai, and that either Djebel Mousa or the Mount St. Catharine is the real Horeb."† At present neither the monks of Sinai, nor those of Cairo, consider Mount Serbal as the scene of any Scripture events; nor have the Bedouins any tradition among them respecting it.

Various other circumstances serve to show, that in the earlier periods of the Christian era, the peninsula of Mount Sinai was not only thronged with pilgrims, but was also the seat of convents, and even the residence of a Christian population. We have already mentioned several deserted convents on and around Mount Sinai; and it is a tradition in the present convent, that at the time of the Mohammedan conquest six or seven thousand monks and hermits were dispersed over the mountains; and convents, chapels, and hermitages, the remains of many of which are still visible, were built in various parts of the peninsula.‡ Further, on the sides of the Wady Feiran, northwest from Mount Serbal, are still seen the ruins of a city of some extent, known likewise by the name of Feiran. Rüppell found here the remains of a church, the architecture of which he assigns to the fifth century.§ Burckhardt speaks of the ruins of some two hundred houses, and also of the remains of several towers as visible on the neighbouring hills. This city was once the seat of a bishopric, and

* Burckh. p. 575. † Ib. p. 609. ‡ Ib. p. 546. § Reisen, p. 263.

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from documents still existing in the convent of Mount Sinai out of the fifteenth century, there appears to have been here at that time an inhabited convent. Makrizi, the Arabian historian, of about the same age, gives a description of the city Feiran, which is copied by Burckhardt.*

Other traces leading to the same conclusions, are the numerous inscriptions found in the valleys of the peninsula. These seem to have been first brought to notice in modern times, by the prefect of the Franciscans in Cairo, an emissary from the Propaganda at Rome, who visited Mount Sinai in 1722. His journal is mentioned by Pococke, and was afterwards translated by Clayton, bishop of Clogher. It is now usually appended to the editions of Maundrell's Journey. On his return he passed through Wady el Mokatteb (the written valley), the sides of which, for miles together, are covered with inscriptions cut in the perpendicular sandstone rocks, in a character which has never yet been fully deciphered. The prefect remarks, that these "unknown characters probably contain some very secret mysteries, and that they were engraved either by the Chaldeans or some other persons, long before the coming of Christ."† Bishop Clayton, in a note, supposes this to be "the ancient Hebrew character, which the Israelites having learned to write at the time of the giving the law from Mount Sinai, diverted themselves with practising it on these mountains during their forty years' abode in the wilderness." So zealous indeed was the good bishop to have this ancient Hebrew character recovered, that in 1755 he offered £500 sterling, towards defraying the expense of an expedition to copy these inscriptions. Niebuhr and his companions received particular instructions to the same effect. More modern travellers have found similar inscriptions in various other valleys and parts of the peninsula, as in Wady Naszb, where they are very numerous, Wady Osch, El Ledja, on Mount Serbal, &c. Copies of many are also given by Pococke, Niebuhr, and more accurately by Seetzen and Burckhardt. They are first mentioned by Cosmas Indicopleustes, who wrote near the end of the sixth century. The character and contents of these inscriptions, as we remarked, have never yet been fully made out; but the general results to which

* Burck. p. 616 seq. † Maundrell's Journey, App. p. 262.

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scholars have arrived in respect to them, are thus given by Gesenius.* They are probably the work of Christian pilgrims, who travelled from Egypt to Mount Sinai before the end of the sixth century; being found only on the most frequented routes, and in places affording shade; and that they are of Christian origin appears from the occasional Greek names, and from the frequent crosses. The character is everywhere the same, and belongs to that species of the Phenician or rather Aramæan, which in the first centuries of the Christian era was extensively employed throughout Syria and also in Egypt; it has most affinity with that of the Palmyrene inscriptions. The most probable conjecture as to the contents of the inscriptions is, that they contain the names of pilgrims, with the dates and perhaps the circumstances of their pilgrimages.

Of a different nature, and pointing apparently to a still higher antiquity, are the remains of ancient copper mines, and monuments covered with hieroglyphics, which are found at Sarbout el Kadem, two and a half hours' distance south-west from the fountain in Wady Naszb. The chief works for copper seem to have been around this fountain, where are still to be seen large heaps of cinders and the remains of several smelting furnaces. The shafts themselves are at the distance of an hour and a half north-west, and appear to have been wrought to a great extent and with profit; and Rüppell ascribes the abandonment of them to the gradual failure of wood for smelting.† The present pasha of Egypt, among all his other schemes of profit and aggrandizement, had formed the plan of again opening these mines, and asked Rüppell's advice upon the subject. The traveller wisely dissuaded him from the undertaking; because, although the ore yields eighteen per cent. of pure copper, yet this would not be enough to satisfy the cupidity of a Turkish government. M. Laborde asserts the existence of other similar works at Sarbout el Kadem and further south in Wady Magary; but he does not describe them, nor are they mentioned by other travellers. Rüppell speaks of mines anciently wrought for antimony, at the distance of seven hours southeast from Naszb.

The hieroglyphic monuments at Sarbout el Kadem, indicate doubtless an ancient Egyptian cemetery. This spot was first discovered by Niebuhr in 1761; inquiring for the inscriptions

* Notes to Burckhardt, p. 1071. Germ. edit. † p. 265.

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of Wady el Mokatteb, he was brought by his guides to this place, as one of still greater interest and wonder. The drawings which he has given of it are said by M. Laborde to be very imperfect. The next European visiter was the French traveller Boutin in 1811, who was afterwards murdered in Syria; and he was followed by Rüppell in 1817. Many other travellers have since taken it in their way to Sinai; and MM. Laborde and Linant have given very complete drawings and views of the place and of the principal monuments. Here, on the level summit of a hill, between abrupt mountains of sandstone, in the midst of a gloomy wilderness, the traveller is surprised at the appearance of tombstones standing erect, carved in the Egyptian style, covered with hieroglyphics, and placed here in solitude and silence, without any apparent connexion with the surrounding desert. They are found in an enclosure, one hundred and sixty feet long by seventy broad, surrounded by heaps of stones, the ruins of former buildings. The monumental stones, some of which have been thrown down, vary in height from seven to nine French feet,* in breadth from eighteen inches to two feet, and in thickness from fourteen to sixteen inches. There are also the ruins of a small temple; three catacombs hewn in the rock, with receptacles for dead bodies; and the fragments of several Egyptian statues, among which is a figure of Isis wrought in the best Egyptian style. On most of the tombstones is found the well-known Egyptian symbol of sepulchral monuments, the winged globe with two serpents; and below it one or more priests who sacrifice to Isis or Osiris. M. Laborde has copied the hieroglyphics on two of these monuments; but we are not aware that they have been deciphered, or their date discovered. Rüppell and after him Laborde regard this spot as the cemetery of an ancient Egyptian colony connected with the mines in the vicinity; nor is there any ground to question the correctness of the hypothesis.

We subjoin here the latitude and longitude of several places in and near the peninsula, as calculated from the very careful astronomical observations of Rüppell.†

Suez. Lat. 29° 57′ 40″ N. Long. 30° 11′ 15″ E. from Paris.

Tor. Lat. 28° 13′ 43″.8. Long. 31° 17′.

* Rüppell, p. 268.

† Reisen, p. 291 seq.

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Cape Ras Mohammed. Lat. 27° 43′ 24″.
Sherm. Lat. 27° 50′ 27″.
Castle of Akaba. Lat. 29° 30′ 58″.2. Long. 32° 40′ 30″.
Convent of Sinai. Lat. 28° 32′ 54″.7. Long. 31° 37′ 45″.

II. The LAND OF EDOM, or according to the Greek pronunciation IDUMEA, comprises the double range of mountains, with the broad and sandy valley between them, extending from the basin of the Dead Sea to the Gulf of Akaba. Twenty years ago this region was utterly unknown. The striking features of its physical geography, as well as the sites of its numerous cities, had been stricken from the memory of civilized man; and the position of Edom on maps was assigned only by conjecture, in a direction somewhere to the southward of Palestine, quite distant from its true situation. The pall of utter oblivion rested upon this devoted land, the subject of so many fearful denunciations of ancient prophecy; and it is only the researches of recent travellers that have in a degree lifted this pall, and shown us the skeleton beneath.

The great sandy valley which forms the principal feature of this region, called towards the north El Ghor, and towards the south El Araba, was first brought to light in modern times by Burckhardt. Abulfeda indeed mentions it, in the fourteenth century; * and it must of course have been known to the crusaders, who for a time had possession of Aila or Elath; though it is not mentioned by any of the writers of that age. The exact length of the valley cannot well be ascertained, because the latitude of the southern extremity of the Dead Sea has never been determined. Assuming this to be 31° 15′, which is probably not far from the truth, we have between this point and Akaba in lat. 29° 31′, an interval of 104 minutes of latitude, or about 120 English miles. With this estimate the distances as given by travellers very nearly accord. The valley is in general from three to five miles broad; it is covered throughout with sand, apparently driven up by the winds from the Red Sea; and a ridge of sand-hills runs quite across it at the distance of a few miles from the Dead Sea.† Through this great valley there can be little doubt that the Jordan once rolled its flood, and emptied itself into the Gulf

* Tabula Syriæ, ed. Köhler, p. 13, 14. Comp. Bibl. Repos. III. p. 443.
† Irby and Mangles, p. 353.

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of Akaba, before the great catastrophe which destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, and converted the fertile plain, in which they stood, into a gloomy reservoir of dead and bitter waters. Even at the present day, we might suppose, (if such a hypothesis were at all necessary,) that the waters of this lake continue to percolate beneath the sands along the rocky bed where they once openly flowed; for both Rüppell and M. Laborde inform us, that all along the shore at the northern extremity of the Gulf of Akaba, where the valley El Araba meets it, on digging holes a foot deep in the sand at the time of ebb, they are instantly filled with the purest water. In this way the wants of the fortress are supplied. "The existence of this water," says Rüppell, "can be accounted for in no other way, than by supposing a very copious filtration of the water which collects in Wady Araba, through the layer of sand which covers the granite formation beneath." * The Ghor, throughout its whole extent, is of course for the most part a desert; yet in winter, when the torrents from the neighbouring mountains produce a copious supply of water, a few shrubs spring up along their banks, affording pasturage to the sheep and goats of various Bedouin tribes which then encamp here.† Towards the southern extremity, vegetation is more frequent in the valley; and Rüppell, in April, 1822, found it here shaded with bushes and covered with luxuriant pasturage.‡

This great valley seems to have, throughout, a rapid slope; the mountains on each side appear to increase in height the farther we proceed southward, while the desert plains or plateaus beyond them apparently continue on the same level. The range of mountains on the western side is in general much lower and narrower than those on the eastern, and they appear never to have been the site of towns or cities; unless we may suppose that Kadesh Barnea, which lay "in the uttermost border of Edom," and was the southeastern limit of the territory of Israel,§ was somewhere in the vicinity of their northern extremity. Being adjacent to the great desert of Paran on the west, they may not improbably, either alone, or in conjunction with the chain El Tyh, be regarded as the Mount Paran of the Scriptures.‖ The descent from these mountains near Akaba is estimated by Rüppell at 1500

* Rüppell, p. 251. Laborde, p. 121. Engl. † Burckh. p. 444.
‡ p. 247. Comp. Laborde, p. 135.
§ Num. xx. 16; xxxiv. 4. Josh. xv. 3. ‖ Deut. xxxiii. 2. Habak. iii. 3.

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French feet. The eastern chain is much higher and broader, and is often interrupted by deep wadys running down from the eastern plateau into the great valley. Near Akaba, the same traveller estimates their altitude at 3000 French feet. The breadth of these mountains, between the upper desert and the Ghor, is in general from eight to twelve hours of distance, or from twenty to thirty miles. The tract which here skirts them on the east, is the vast and stony plain of the Arabian desert. Its level is much higher than that of the Ghor; so that the mountains appear from it only as low hills.

This eastern range of mountainous country, extending from Wady el Ahsa south of Kerek in Moab, to the Gulf of Akaba, we suppose to have been the original Land of Edom. Not but that the Edomites probably extended their possessions across the Ghor and over the desert of Paran, as they also did towards the northeast, as far as Bozra; yet these mountains were their peculiar national territory. This tract is divided into three nearly equal portions, by two large wadys, El Ghoeyr and Gharendel, descending from the eastern desert to the Ghor, and affording easy and frequented routes to travellers and caravans. The northern part, from Wady el Ahsa to El Ghoeyr, is now called *Djebal* (i. e. mountains), in which we cannot but recognise the *Gebal* of the Scriptures and the Roman *Gebalene*. The tract between the wadys El Ghoeyr and Gharendel, in which lies Wady Mousa, bears the name of *Djebel Shera;* perhaps in allusion to the Mount *Seir* of Scripture, though this is doubtful. South of Wady Gharendel the mountains take the name of Djebel Hesma.

Our historical notices of this region and of its inhabitants, must be condensed into the fewest words possible. The earliest name by which the country is known in Scripture is Mount Seir; and it is said to have been inhabited by Horites, or dwellers in caves, Troglodytes.* Indeed Jerome informs us, that even in his time, "the whole of the southern part of Idumea, from Eleutheropolis to Petra and Ailah, was full of caverns which were used as dwellings;" † and such doubtless were many of the excavated chambers of Petra itself. At a later period, Esau or Edom removed into this region from the face of his brother Jacob; ‡ and his descendants are said to have succeeded the Horites in Mount Seir, "when they had

* Gen. xiv. 6. † Comm. in Obad. v. 1. ‡ Gen. xxxvi. 6 seq.

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destroyed them and dwelt in their stead.* The dukes or chiefs of Edom, so often mentioned in Scripture, were probably much like the modern Arabian *sheikhs*; and there were occasionally kings, whose power seems not to have been hereditary, and who were probably only distinguished chieftains. The rivalry of the patriarchs Esau and Jacob, was transmitted to their descendants. When the Israelites, after their long wanderings, arrived a second time at Kadesh, they sought permission of the Edomites to pass through their country by the "king's highway," (not improbably Wady el Ghoeyr,) in order to reach Palestine from the east. This permission was refused, and the Israelites were compelled to return to Elath (Ailah), and thence cross the mountains and make the circuit of the whole land of Edom.† In later times Saul made war upon Edom; David subdued the whole country; and Solomon made Ezion-geber a naval station, whence he despatched fleets to Ophir. But the Edomites again recovered their independence; and although the Jewish kings waged several successful wars against them, yet it is related that Rezin, king of Syria, ultimately expelled the Jews from Elath, of which the Edomites (according to the proper reading) now took permanent possession.‡ From the prophetical books of the Old Testament we further learn, that while the Jewish state was in its decline, and fast verging to ruin, the Edomites became prosperous; and, indulging their hereditary hatred towards the Hebrews, they joined the Chaldeans under Nebuchadnezzar, and assisted in the subversion of the Jewish state. Hence the national hatred of the Jews against Edom became inflamed to the highest pitch; and the direst denunciations are uttered by the Hebrew prophets against that land.§ During the interval of the Jewish captivity, it would seem, the Idumeans pressed forward into Palestine, and took possession of the southern parts of that country as far as to Hebron;‖ here they were attacked by the Maccabees in successive wars, and finally subdued about 125 B. C.¶ They appear henceforth only as living among, or at least subservient to, the Jews; although particular families and individuals attained to great

* Deut. ii. 12, 22. † Num. xx. 14 seq.

‡ 2 K. xvi. 6. See the much fuller notices in the article above referred to in the Bibl. Repos. III. p. 250 seq.

§ Ps. cxxxvii. 7 seq. Obad. 1 seq. Jer. xlix. 7 seq. Ezek. xxv. 12 seq.; xxxii. 29; xxxv. 5.

‖ Jos. Ant. 10. 9. 7. ¶ Ibid. 13. 9. 1. Ib. 13. 15. 4.

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wealth and power. The Herods were of Idumean origin, and were on this account the more odious to the Jews, over whom they ruled with a rod of iron. Josephus mentions a body of Idumeans who entered Jerusalem just before its siege by Titus;* but from this time onward, they vanish, as a people, from the pages of history. Most probably, like the other nomadic nations adjacent to Palestine, the Moabites, Amalekites, Midianites, &c. they became amalgamated with the nomadic Arab tribes who overpowered them, and who occupy their places to the present day.† The original country of Edom was now called Gebalene, or the Desert of the South.‡

But while the Edomites had thus been extending themselves towards the north, they in their turn had been driven out from the southern portion of their own territory, and even from their metropolis itself, by the Nabatheans, the descendants of Nebajoth, the eldest son of Ishmael. This nomadic people had spread themselves over the whole of Arabia Deserta, from the Euphrates to the borders of Palestine and the Elanitic gulf. At what time they thus supplanted the Edomites in their ancient possessions, cannot be ascertained; but so early as the time of Antigonus, one of Alexander's successors, who died 301 B. C., that prince sent two expeditions from Babylon against the Nabatheans in Petra.§ At this time they were still essentially nomadic; but they appear gradually to have become more fixed in their habits, and were in the course of the following century consolidated into the kingdom of Arabia Petræa, occupying very nearly the same territory which was comprised in the limits of the ancient Edom. The sovereigns of this kingdom usually bore the name of Aretas or Obodas; and during the two centuries preceding the destruction of Jerusalem, they came into frequent contact with the Jews and Romans,

* B. J. 4. 4. 5 et al.

† The name Idumea, as used by Josephus, includes only the northern part of Edom proper, and the southern part of Palestine, where the Idumeans then had possession. Hence Roman writers often speak of the whole of Palestine under the name of Idumea; e. g. Silius Italicus III. 216, speaking of Vespasian:

"Palmiferamque senex bello domitabit Idumen."

So also Martial, speaking of Vespasian and Titus, Epigr. II. 2.

"Frater Idumæos meruit cum Patre triumphos."

See Reland Palæst. p. 48. Cellarius Notit. Orb. II. p. 578.

‡ Reland Palæst. p. 70. § Diod. Sic. 19. 95.

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both in war and peace. Frequent mention of this kingdom and people occurs in Josephus ;* and their sovereigns appear to have been in a manner dependent on the Roman emperors, though not directly subject to the power of that nation. Two or three years before the Christian era, an expedition was sent by Augustus from Egypt into Arabia, under Ælius Gallus, the friend of Strabo, and then governor of Egypt. After various hindrances, Gallus arrived with his forces at Albus Pagus (*Λευκὴ Κώμη*), the emporium of the Nabatheans. Here he was kindly received by the king Obodas, and his favorite Syllæus, as allies of the Romans ; and remained a summer and winter to refresh his troops. He afterwards marched into the interior, and returned through Arabia Felix.† At the beginning of the second century, the kingdom of Arabia Petræa was overrun and conquered by Palma, governor of Syria, and formally annexed to the Roman empire under the reign of Trajan.‡

The inhabitants of this region had already become extensively engaged in commerce, as the carriers of the rich produce of the East between the Red Sea and the ports of the Phenicians. Strabo relates that the merchandise of India and Arabia was transported on camels from Albus Pagus to Petra, and thence to Rhinocolura and other places. Under the Romans, the trade of these regions appears to have become still more extensive and prosperous. The country was rendered more accessible, and the passage of merchants and caravans was facilitated, by military ways, and by the establishment of military posts to keep in check the plundering hordes of the neighbouring deserts. One great military road, of which the traces still remain, had its direction from Ailah northwards to Petra; thence it divided and led on one side of the Dead Sea to Jerusalem, Gaza, and other ports of the Mediterranean ; and on the other side to Damascus. A line of military posts

* See these notices collected, Bibl. Repos. III. p. 264.

† Strabo XVI. 22 seq. This geographer afterwards speaks of Albus Pagus as the port of Petra, XVI. 24. It was therefore probably identical with Elath or Ailah, or at least not far distant from that place. We are aware that Danville, Heeren, and some other writers, find this port at Havra on the coast of the Red Sea, far to the eastward of the Gulf of Akaba ; but it is hardly conceivable that the inhabitants of Petra should pass by a port at the distance of about sixty miles, and journey, by land, some one hundred and fifty or two hundred miles further, to find only a less favorable harbour.

‡ Dio Cass. 68. 14. Amm. Marc. 14. 8.

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was also drawn along the eastern frontier of Arabia Petræa towards the desert; some of which became the sites of towns and cities.*

In the beginning of the fifth century, we find a new division of Judea and the adjacent country, into *Palæstina Prima, Secunda, et Tertia;* the latter comprehending the countries on the east and south of the Dead Sea, corresponding to Arabia Petræa and the ancient Idumea.† Long before this time, the Christian religion had extended itself over the whole of this region; and the names of several cities have been preserved, which, like Petra, were the seats of bishops. Indeed the acts and records of councils, in the fourth and fifth centuries, have served to rescue the names of many bishops and their sees from the oblivion in which they must otherwise have been engulfed. But in the seventh century, the Mohammedan conquests extended over these regions; Ailah was subdued by the warrior prophet himself;‡ and the Arab hordes, however distinct in other respects, were united into one great community of religious zealots. The country remained, apparently for centuries, much in the same state as at present, the seat of nomadic tribes, who were the ancestors of the present Bedouins; with here and there a city, whose inhabitants yielded allegiance to one tribe or another, according to circumstances.

The invasion of the crusaders interrupted for a time the monotonous tide of Oriental life in Palestine and the adjacent countries. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, they penetrated at different times into the regions east and south of the Dead Sea, then known by the name of Arabia Tertia, and also Syria Sobal.§ In A. D. 1115, King Baldwin I, at the head of two hundred knights and four hundred esquires, advanced as far as to Mount Horeb [Hor]; and rebuilt in the vicinity an ancient fortress on a hill, in a pleasant region abounding in corn, wine, and oil. To this he gave the name of *Mons Regalis*, by which it is known in Occidental writers;

* These facts are derived not from historians, but from the specifications of the celebrated Peutinger Tables, or *Tabula Theodosiana.* Compare Rennell's Comparat. Geogr. of Western Asia, I. p. 83 seq. Heeren's Ideen, I. ii. p. 95 seq.

† Reland Palæst. p. 205 seq. ‡ Gibbon, 4to. Vol. V. p. 245.

§ Wilken Gesch. der Kreuzzüge, II. p. 616, p. 403.

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the Arabian geographers call it Shobak or Shaubak.* It still remains a place of considerable importance. In the succeeding year, Baldwin made an excursion with sixty knights to the shore of the Elanitic gulf.† Not improbably he then took possession of Ailah; of which at any rate the Christians were not long after masters; and which was taken from them by Saladin in A. D. 1167. Fifteen years later, in A. D. 1182, the impetuous and reckless Rainald of Chatillon, who was for some years governor of the fortress of Kerek, made a rapid incursion upon Ailah and the Egyptian fleet collected there, which he seized; and, having despatched a portion of the fleet, manned by Christians, against the coast of Arabia Felix, he prosecuted with his remaining troops the siege of the citadel of Ailah. He was, however, unsuccessful in both these objects, and compelled to a shameful retreat.‡ In 1188, Saladin subdued the fortresses of Kerek and Shobak, and became master of the whole region.

From this period onward, there are few, if any, notices of this tract of country, until the present century. Volney seems to have been the first traveller whose attention was drawn to it, by the reports of the Arabs around Gaza, who related to him that within three days' journey to the south of the Dead Sea, there were upwards of thirty towns absolutely deserted, some of which they described as distinguished by large edifices, decorated with numerous columns.§ In 1806, Seetzen penetrated as far as Kerek, and received such accounts of a place called *Bedra*, as led him to conjecture that the ruins of Petra were to be sought at Wady Mousa.‖ Seetzen himself never entered the proper territory of Edom. Burckhardt is the first European traveller, who, in modern times, has visited this region. On his way from Damascus to Cairo in the summer of 1812, he chose the route on the east of the Dead Sea, and traversed the land of Edom as far as to the Wady Gharendel, whence he struck across the Ghor and the western desert, until he fell into the great Hadj route between Suez and Akaba. He travelled as an Arab, a "townsman"; and, although he was thus subjected to many difficulties and to much extor-

* Wilk. Tyr. 22. 5. Schulten's Ind. Geogr. in Vit. Salad. s. voc. *Sjaubechum.* Abulfeda Tab. Syr. p. 88. Wilken, ib. II. p. 403.
† Wilken, l. c.
‡ Wilken, III. ii. p. 139.
§ Volney's Travels, ch. 31.
‖ Bibl. Repos. III. p. 284, p. 444.

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tion, he was doubtless in this way brought into nearer contact with the people, and was able to collect more full and accurate information, which he has embodied in one of the most interesting portions of his travels.* To him, beyond all question, belongs the merit of having brought again to light the great valley of the Ghor, and the lost wonders of Petra; although, in the circumstances in which he was placed, he was able to spend but a single day in a hasty visit to the latter.

Notwithstanding the interest which the report of Burckhardt's visit could not but awaken in Europe, six years elapsed before the land of Edom could again be visited by any Occidental traveller. In 1818, Mr. Bankes and Mr. Legh, both well known by their previous travels in Nubia, and their companions Captains Irby and Mangles, succeeded, after great hindrances and with much difficulty, in penetrating from Kerek as far as Wady Mousa, by the same route which Burckhardt had taken. They spent two days among the ruins, ascended Mount Hor, and returned by the way of Kerek to Jerusalem. An interesting account of the excursion was given by Mr. Legh, as a supplementary chapter to Macmichael's "Journey from Moscow to Constantinople." London, 1819.† A fuller description is contained in the unpublished work of Captains Irby and Mangles.‡

Thus far travellers had entered Edom from the north, and explored the country as far south as to the Wady Gharendel. At a later period, we believe in 1826, Messrs. Strangways and Anson are said to have reached Wady Mousa by the direct route from Gaza; but we know nothing further of their movements. There remained then only the distance between Wady Gharendel and Akaba, as yet unexplored; and for a knowledge of this portion we are indebted to the journey of MM. Laborde and Linant in 1828. These travellers, the latest, we believe, who have visited Petra, approached it, as we have seen, from the south through the Ghor; and returned to Akaba by a more eastern route among the mountains. Here they found, about half way between Petra and Akaba,

* Travels in Syria and the Holy Land, p. 395 seq. Reprinted in the Bibl. Repos. III. p. 401 seq.

† Reprinted in the Bibl. Repos. III. p. 614 seq.

‡ Travels in Egypt and Nubia, Syria, and Asia Minor, during the Years 1817 and 1818. 8vo. Lond. 1823. This work is characterized by great simplicity and directness of manner. The only copy we know of in this country, is in the library of the Boston Athenæum.

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the ruins of a city, which M. Laborde calls Ameimé, having an extensive aqueduct. Nearer to Akaba, several of the valleys which afford a passage to the interior, are shut up with walls, and defended by other fortifications, probably the work of the Arabs. The great valley of Jetoum exhibits in one place the ruins of such a wall, of which Burckhardt also received information.* It was while passing from the gulf around the land of Edom, that the Israelites were bitten by serpents;† and M. Laborde expressly affirms, that on his return from Petra, he found in this region "vast numbers of these reptiles."‡

We subjoin here a list of those cities of ancient Idumea, (exclusive of Petra,) of which some traces are supposed to remain in the names or other circumstances of modern places.§

Zoara, the Zoar and Bela of Genesis, is spoken of by Eusebius, under the names of Zoar, Bala, and Segor, as near the southern extremity of the Dead Sea on the eastern shore, and as being a Roman garrison. It was afterwards one of the episcopal cities of Palæstina Tertia.‖ It stood, most probably, in the entrance of the Wady el Draah or Daru, which comes down to the sea from the east, and forms the usual route of travellers from Hebron to Kerek. Captains Irby and Mangles describe this as a beautiful spot, and add; "There is very clearly to be perceived an ancient site. Stones that have been used in building, though for the most part unhewn, with bricks and fragments of pottery, are strewed over the uneven surface for at least half a mile, quite down to the plain."¶

Phœnon, or *Phanon*, situated, according to Eusebius, between Zoar and Petra. Burckhardt finds a resemblance in the modern *Tafyle*, a town of six hundred houses, and corresponding with Phænon in its situation.**

Psora may perhaps be the modern Beszeyra.

Thana is mentioned by Ptolemy, and corresponds well with the modern Dhana.

Zodocotha seems to have its corresponding name in the

* Laborde, p. 207 seq. Engl. Burckhardt, p. 511.
† Num. xxi. 4 seq. ‡ p. 138, Engl.
§ The names of Idumean cities, as far down as to the fifth century, have been faithfully collected by Reland, Palæst. p. 204–234. Compare Bibl. Repos. III., p. 272 seq.
‖ Reland Pal. p. 1064 seq. ¶ p. 448.
** Reland, p. 951. Burckh. p. 402.

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modern Szadeke, where is a hill with extensive ruins of an ancient town.*

Arindela was the seat of a bishop, but no trace of it remains; except that Burckhardt suggests a resemblance in the name of Wady Gharendel, near the mouth of which M. Laborde remarked some ruins. The ruined city which the latter traveller calls Ameimé is in the vicinity of this valley; is this perhaps the ancient Arindela? It would seem to be too far south for the Havara marked on the maps as one of the Roman posts.

Elath and *Ezion-geber*, the former called also by the Greeks and Romans *Elana*, and by the Arabs *Ailah*. These two cities were situated at the northern extremity of the Gulf of Akaba, and must have been near each other; perhaps on different sides of the *embouchure* of the great valley. Ezion-geber was the port of Solomon. Josephus says it was afterwards called Berenice;† and it may not improbably have been afterwards revived in the later Albus Pagus, mentioned above. But Elath appears early to have supplanted it in importance;‡ and in the first centuries of Christianity the latter was a great emporium, and the seat of a Roman garrison. The bishops of Ailah also held a prominent place in the councils of those days.§ The occupation of it by the crusaders in the twelfth century, and the recovery of it by Saladin, we have already spoken of in the preceding pages; as also of the unsuccessful assault upon its citadel by Rainald in A. D. 1182. In the fourteenth century, it was already abandoned; for Abulfeda, who wrote in the first half of that century, expressly says of Ailah; "In this our day it is a tower or castle, to which a governor is sent from Egypt. It had a small citadel in the sea; but this is now destroyed, and the governor transferred to the fortress on the shore."‖ Such as Ailah was in the days of Abulfeda, is Akaba now. Mounds of rubbish alone mark the site of the city; while a fortress occupied by a Turkish governor, and a small garrison under the Pasha of Egypt, serve to keep the neighbouring tribes of the desert in awe, and to protect the pilgrims of the annual Egyptian Hadj.

* Burckh. p. 435. † Jos. Ant. 8. 6. 4.

‡ For the notices of it by Greek and Roman writers, see Cellarius, Orb. Not. II. p. 582 seq.

§ Reland, p. 554 seq.

‖ Schulten's Ind. Geogr. in Vit. Salad. voc. *Aila*. Rommel's Abulfeda, p. 78.

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The "citadel in the sea," of which Abulfeda speaks, is probably the same which was besieged in vain by Rainald;* and is doubtless the small island near the western shore of the gulf, opposite Wady Emrag, on which modern travellers have observed ruins. It was described to Burckhardt by his guides; but he did not himself see it.† Rüppell describes it under the name of Emrag; and gives a view of it as seen from the western shore. He supposes the buildings to be of Arabian structure, and refers them to the twelfth century. M. Laborde speaks of the island under the name of Graia; on what authority we are not aware. He and his companion swam over to it on a raft; and in a strange fit of national vanity, planted a flag upon the highest rock, and took possession of the island in the name of France! His description and views add little to the information afforded by Rüppell.

Up to the time of Burckhardt, the darkness which rested upon the Elanitic Gulf, was not less than that which shrouded the neighbouring land of Edom. On many of the best maps, even in the earlier part of the eighteenth century, no such gulf is to be found. Danville, following a Turkish map, gave to its northern extremity a bifurcation; at one point of which he placed Elath, and at the other Ezion-geber. The information collected by Burckhardt served to do away this bifurcation; and this has been abundantly confirmed by the personal observation of later travellers.

III. We turn now to PETRA, which in ancient times was the celebrated metropolis of this whole region, and received its name from its singular site. The Greeks and Romans named it ἡ Πέτρα, Petra, i. e. the rock; in Hebrew it was called סֶלַע, Sela, also signifying a rock. In the Scriptures it is spoken of only as the capital of Edom. The earliest distinct notice appears to be in Josh. i. 36. In 2 Kings xiv. 7, Amaziah is said to have taken Sela by war, and called the name of it Toktheel. It is mentioned again in Isa. xvi. 1; and also, as some suppose, in ch. xlii. 11. The last of these notices cannot be later than 700 B. C.

Four centuries afterwards, it had already passed into the hands of the Nabatheans, and had become a place of trade. The two expeditions sent against it from Babylon by Antigo-

* Wilken, Gesch. der Kr. III. ii. p. 223. † p. 511.

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nus, who died B. C. 301, we have already had occasion to mention. In speaking of these expeditions, Diodorus describes Petra as being a very strong place, though without walls, not far distant from a celebrated emporium. At the time of the first expedition, under Athenæus, the Nabatheans were mostly absent at this emporium for the sake of traffic. Athenæus seized the place by surprise; and found in it a great quantity of frankincense and myrrh, and also five hundred talents of silver. But on his retreat the Nabatheans pursued him, and, attacking him unawares, killed not less than eight thousand of his troops. Of the second expedition the Nabatheans had notice, and made preparations to resist an attack by depositing all their wealth under a strong garrison in Petra, "to which there was but a single approach," made, as Diodorus says, by hand, *χειροποίητος*.*

During the reign of the Roman emperor Augustus, Petra was the capital of the kingdom of Arabia Petræa, of which we have already spoken. It is thus described at this period by Strabo; "The metropolis of the Nabatheans is called Petra; because it lies in a situation which in other respects is plain and level, but is surrounded by a circular *rock* or mountain, externally precipitous, but internally affording several fountains, sufficiently copious for a supply of water, and for the irrigation of gardens. Beyond this enclosure the whole region is a desert, and particularly towards Judea." † The stoic philosopher Athenodorus, the friend of Strabo, spent some time in Petra, and related that he found many Romans and other strangers residing there; that these often had legal processes with one another, and with the inhabitants; while the latter lived in entire harmony and union, under excellent laws.‡

The testimony of Pliny, in the first century, is still more definite and exact. "The Nabatheans inhabit the city called Petra, situated in a valley or amphitheatre less than two thousand paces in amplitude, surrounded by inaccessible mountains, with a stream flowing through the midst."§ About the same time, Petra is often mentioned by Josephus as the capital of Arabia Petræa. With that kingdom it passed under the immediate sway of the Romans, during the reign of Trajan. Adrian, his successor, would seem to have given his own

* Diod. Sic. 19. 95 – 98. † Strabo Geogr. 16. 4. 21. ‡ Ibid.
§ Pliny, H. N. VI. 28 or 32.

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name to Petra; at least, coins apparently of this city are still extant, bearing the inscription Ἀδριάνη Πέτρα Μητρόπολις.* In succeeding centuries, Petra appears in the ecclesiastical records and *notitiæ*, as the principal see of Palæstina Tertia.† But in the *notitiæ* made at the time of the crusades, the see of Petra is no longer found mentioned.‡ It would seem even then to have been abandoned and forgotten; and its site already bore in Arabic the name of Wady Mousa.

Several ancient writers also assign the geographical position of Petra, with a tolerable degree of accuracy. Josephus, as also Eusebius and Jerome, speaks of Mount Hor, where Aaron died, as adjacent to Petra.§ In their time, therefore, a long tradition had marked the mountain which overhangs Petra as the burial place of Aaron; and the same tradition has come down through the vicissitudes of ages to the present day. Diodorus places the city at the distance of three hundred stadia south of the Dead Sea. Strabo makes it three or four days' march from Jericho. Pliny says it is six hundred Roman miles distant from Gaza, and one hundred and thirty from the Persian Gulf; where we do not hesitate to assume, with Cellarius, a transposition of the numbers, which then will be nearly correct. The *Tabula* of Peutinger places Petra about eighty Roman miles northward from Ailah. The estimate of M. Laborde makes Wady Mousa to be twenty-two French leagues from Akaba; which is equivalent to some fifty or sixty English miles. All these notices, coupled with the descriptions of Strabo and Pliny above given, go to prove beyond question the identity of Petra and the ruins of Wady Mousa.

Such was all that could be known of Petra to the Occidental world, before the time of Burckhardt. An Arab from that region had indeed described the spot to Seetzen, exclaiming; "Ah! how I always weep when I behold the ruins of Wady Mousa, and especially those of Faroun!" That traveller too would doubtless have wept tears of joy, had he likewise been permitted to behold those ruins; but the sight was denied to his eyes. Burckhardt could visit them only by stealth, as if in the performance of a pious vow to sacrifice a goat at the tomb of Aaron on Mount Hor. As it was, he could only pass through them, and return on the same day; and yet we

* Eckhel Doctr. Nummor. III. p. 503.
† Reland, p. 212, 218. p. 933. ‡ Reland, p. 220, 226.
§ Jos. Ant. 4. 4. 7. Euseb. Onom. art. Ὤρ.

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cannot but admire the tact and accuracy of his observation, as evinced by the fact, that succeeding travellers, with far more leisure, have added comparatively little to the fulness of his general description. Minor details have indeed been given, and the general outlines more carefully filled out; especially in the account given by Captains Irby and Mangles, which we consider as the most graphic. The merit of M. Laborde here lies not in his pen, but in his pencil; he and his companion have brought Petra itself before our eyes; and those strange ruins, which till now could only be visited, through dangers and hardships, in the midst of naked rocks and desert solitudes, now present themselves to our view in our very chambers and by our firesides.*

The French travellers ascended to Petra from the Ghor on the west, and arrived at the ruins by a very rugged descent on the southwestern part of the amphitheatre. But the "single approach" of which Diodorus speaks, was from the east; and by it all other travellers, who have visited the place, have made their way to the ruins. In the very brief notices which our limits permit us to make of the site and remains of this celebrated spot, we shall follow the latter order, referring the reader for further details to the accounts of Burckhardt and Legh, and especially to that of Captains Irby and Mangles.

In looking at the wonders which here lie before us, we are at a loss, whether most to admire the singularity of the natural scenery, or the taste and skill with which it has been fashioned by art into a secure retreat, and adorned with splendid structures intended for the abode both of the living and the dead. The two, however, are so connected, that they cannot well be separated even in contemplation; and we can only speak of them as mutually heightening the effect of each other. Wady Mousa is at first a small valley, with a copious fountain at its eastern extremity, from which a brook flows along the valley westward. Lower down it is joined by another brook, descending through a ravine from the southern mountain. On a hill in the angle formed by the two, stands the village of Wady Mousa, or Eldjg. Following the rivulet farther to the

* The plan of Petra given by M. Laborde is by far the best; although he has unfortunately neglected to mark upon it the points of the compass. The patch-work character of his descriptions, as wrought into a "continuous whole" by the English editor, sets at defiance all attempts to acquire from them a correct idea of the topography of the place.

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westward, the valley becomes narrower, and here the antiquities of Wady Mousa may be said to begin; — a suburb, as it were, to the city of Petra, situated before its principal entrance. These remains consist of sepulchral chambers hewn in the perpendicular rocks which form the sides of the valley, with fronts either plain, or ornamented with columns and pilasters. These continue for several hundred paces, presenting a continued street of tombs; beyond which the rocks approach each other, and seem all at once to close without any outlet. There is, however, a frightful chasm for the stream, which also furnishes now, as formerly, the only avenue to Petra on this side.

This approach is in the highest degree wild and sublime. The width is just sufficient for two horsemen abreast; the sides are in all parts perpendicular, varying from four hundred to seven hundred feet in height; and they often overhang to such a degree, that the sky is intercepted, and the full light of day shut out, for a hundred yards together. The tamarisk, wild fig, and oleander, grow luxuriantly along this chasm, often rendering the passages difficult; and in some places they hang down gracefully from the cliffs and crevices, where they have taken root. The Arabs call this pass El Syk. About fifty paces from the entrance, a bold arch is thrown across the chasm at a great height, connecting the opposite sides of the cliff; and underneath it are niches, apparently for the reception of statues. M. Laborde ascertained this to be a highly ornamented arch of triumph.* The ravine holds its general direction from east to west; but presents many elbows and windings in its course, so that the eye can seldom penetrate beyond a few paces forwards, and is often at a loss in what direction the passage will open. Artificial watercourses are here carried along the sides of the rocks, probably for the better supply of the ancient city.

This singular passage continues for nearly two miles; the sides increasing in height as the path continually descends, while the tops of the precipices retain their former level. Where they are just at the highest, a beam of stronger light breaks in, and opens to view, at first half seen through the tall, narrow cleft, the columns, statues, and cornices of a temple,

* A copy of M. Laborde's view of this arch is given in Finden's Illustrations of the Bible.

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executed in stone of a pale rose color, of a light and finished taste, and fresh as if just from the chisel. Only a portion of an extensive architectural front is seen at first; but it has been so contrived, that a statue with expanded wings, perhaps of Victory, just fills the centre of the opening in front, which, being closed below by the projecting sides of the chasm, gives to the figure the appearance of being suspended in the air.* The rest of the design opens gradually as one advances, until the narrow defile spreads on both sides into an area of a moderate size, girt in by lofty and inaccessible rocks of the same general character. The traveller then finds himself in front of a magnificent temple, the richness and finish of whose decorations contrast strangely with the savage scenery around. No part is built; the whole being purely a work of excavation, in the highest state of preservation, even to its minutest embellishments. On the summit is an urn, which Arab superstition regards as the depository of the treasures of the Pharaohs; and hence the structure bears the name Khasneh el Faraoun, or Treasury of Pharaoh. This is the most beautiful and striking of all the monuments of Petra. M. Laborde has given two different views of it.†

The rock in which this temple is sculptured, (as indeed all the rocks through which the extraordinary chasm leads, and in which all the tombs and monuments of the city have been excavated, even to the summit of Mount Hor,) is freestone or sandstone of a reddish color, which continues towards the south to skirt the eastern side of the great valley or Ghor. The forms of the summits of these rocks are so irregular and grotesque, that, when seen from a distance, they have the appearance of volcanic mountains. The softness of the stone afforded great facilities to those, who excavated and sculptured the sides of the mountain; but the same cause has naturally operated against their preservation. Above the Khasneh, the face of the rock is left as an overhanging vault; and it is to this, and the projection of the adjacent rocks, that the excellent preservation of its details is to be ascribed. The interior of this structure presents nothing corresponding to its splendid

* A view taken from this point by Mr. Bankes, is given on the title-page to the first volume of Finden's Illustrations. The drawings of Mr. Bankes have long been promised to the public; and we hope that M. Laborde's work will not have the effect to make this promise vain.

† One of these is copied in Finden's Illustrations.

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front ; a large plain room, and two side chambers, constitute the whole. The architecture is supposed by Captains Irby and Mangles to belong to an age posterior to the time of Trajan's conquest.

The area before this temple is about fifty yards in width, and one hundred and fifty in length. Towards the south, it terminates in a wild precipitous cliff, rendered accessible by a flight of steps cut in the rock ; as is also done in various other parts of the cliffs. Towards the N. N. W. the defile again assumes, for about three hundred yards, the same features which characterize the eastern approach, with an endless variety of tombs, both Arabian and Roman, on either side. Here the valley again widens ; and on the left is a theatre cut entirely from the rock, with all its seats, capable of containing perhaps three thousand spectators ; the area of it is now filled up with gravel, brought down by the winter torrents.

From this spot the ruins of the city itself burst upon the view in their full grandeur,* shut in on the opposite side and all around, by barren, craggy precipices, from which numerous ravines and valleys, like those already described, branch out in all directions. Here is the "valley or amphitheatre" of Pliny, "less than two thousand paces in amplitude, surrounded by inaccessible mountains, with a stream flowing through the midst." Nothing can be more definite than this description ; as any one may see by looking at M. Laborde's plan. This area or plain opens about one hundred and fifty paces beyond the theatre ; and is described by Burckhardt as being two hundred and fifty or three hundred yards across, bordered by heights somewhat less precipitous than before. The stream flows across it in a N. N. W. direction, and enters another similar ravine, where it is lost for a time beneath the rocks. The whole of this open area is covered with heaps of hewn stones, foundations of buildings, fragments of columns, and vestiges of paved streets ; all clearly indicating that a large city once existed here. On the left side of the stream is a mound or rising ground extending westwards, entirely covered with similar remains. On the right bank, where the ground is more elevated, ruins of the same description exist. In the level ground, near the left bank of the stream, would seem to have

* M. Laborde gives a view from this spot, which is also copied in Finden's Illustrations.

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been some of the principal edifices. Here is an archway of a very florid architecture, much ruined, and serving originally as an introduction to a large pile of buildings, called by the Arabs Kaszr Bent Faraoun, or the Palace of Pharaoh's daughter. M. Laborde calls it simply the Palace of Pharaoh, and has given drawings both of the palace and of the arch. Further to the west, and on higher ground, are the ruins of a temple, with one column yet standing, to which the Arabs have given an indecent name. Hence the ground descends towards the W. N. W. and then the traveller ascends in the same direction, through a narrow lateral valley, towards the rugged mountain on which stands the Tomb of Aaron.

One other structure of imposing beauty was seen by Mr. Bankes and his companions from the summit of Mount Hor, situated in a lateral valley in a direction N. N. E. from the ruins of the city; but from the intricacy of the ravines and want of time, they were unable to reach it. The French travellers were more successful, and have given a view of the edifice, which bears a general resemblance to the Khasneh; though the latter is of a lighter taste and purer architecture. It is called by the Arabs El Deir, or the Convent.

But the great singularity of the whole place is, not that there are occasional excavations and sculptures like those we have described, but that the whole extent of perpendicular rocks around the chief area and in all the lateral valleys, is full of innumerable excavations of a similar character and of different dimensions, whose entrances are variously, richly, and often fantastically decorated with every imaginable order of architecture. Indeed it is impossible "to give the reader an idea of the singular effect of these rocks, tinted with the most extraordinary hues, whose summits present us with nature in her most savage and romantic form, whilst their bases are worked out in all the symmetry and regularity of art, with colonnades and pediments, and ranges of corridors adhering to the perpendicular surface." * A great proportion of these were doubtless sepulchres; even the theatre is surrounded by them; indeed in every quarter the depositories of the dead must have presented themselves constantly to the eyes of the living, and almost have outnumbered the habitations of the latter. The largest of these sepulchres are

* Irby and Mangles, p. 423.

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usually of three stories, with great varieties of ornamental sculpture. One of the largest, a mausoleum of seventy or eighty feet high, with porticos, appears to have been afterwards converted into a church; an inscription within it, in red paint, records the date of the consecration; and this is the only vestige of Christianity which has yet been found among these ruins. Only two or three sepulchres have been found with inscriptions; the letters of one of which Mr. Bankes found to be exactly similar to those found in the peninsula of Mount Sinai.

But although so many of these excavations were doubtless sepulchres, yet we cannot well admit that all were so. Indeed the inhabitants of all this region of country were known as Troglodytes, or dwellers in caverns, as we have seen above; and the supposition would be hardly admissible, that in Petra alone, with its countless excavated chambers, none of them were employed as dwellings for the living. Captains Irby and Mangles remark, (and we may probably regard them as speaking in accordance with the opinion of Mr. Bankes,) "that there are here grottos in great numbers, which were certainly not sepulchral, especially near the palace; there is one in particular, which presents a front of four windows, with a large and lofty door-way in the centre. This, which seems the best of all the excavated residences, has no ornament whatever in the exterior. The access to it is by a shelf gained out of the side of the mountain; other inferior habitations open upon it, and more particularly an oven, and some cisterns. These antique dwellings are close to an angle of the mountain, where the stream, after having traversed the city, passes again into a narrow defile, along whose steep sides a sort of excavated suburb is continued, of very small and mean chambers, set one above another without much regularity, like so many pigeon-holes in the rock, with flights of steps or narrow inclined planes leading up to them. The main wall and ceiling only of some were in the solid rock; the fronts and partitions being built of very indifferent masonry with cement."*

But we must stop. What a city, and what a people! Whence came so much wealth, and such magnificence, when the country had already lost its independence, and its me-

* Irby and Mangles, p. 426 seq.

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tropolis had sunk to be merely a provincial city, far remote from the great seats of taste and art? A volume would not suffice to recount the external wonders of Petra; and still less to bring out to view the striking illustrations of the writings of the Hebrew prophets, afforded by the present state of the land of Edom. We had intended to conclude this article with some remarks upon the latter topic, and the abuse of it by literal interpreters; but we have already exceeded our limits.

ART. V. — *The Duchess de la Vallière. A Play. In Five Acts.* By the Author of "Eugene Aram," &c. New York; Saunders & Otley. 12mo. pp. 131.

OBJECTS seen through a prism have a gorgeous, fantastical, unnatural appearance, quite striking at first, but wearisome in the repetition. So it is with life and manners, as seen in Mr. Bulwer's novels. They show us virtues caricatured, vices seductively garnished, generous qualities degraded by paltry motives, petty objects magnified, vulgarities glossed by fashion, and manners tinged with affectation. Whatever is veritable, honest, useful, and truly noble, finds little place in this *bizarre*, fictitious world. Such is the character of these works in general; but we will analyze them more in detail.

The author does every thing by rule, as mechanically, and with as little inspiration, as the cook makes a ragout from one of his thousand recipes. In the introduction to a recent edition of "The Disowned," he gives us his *modus operandi*, showing at the same time how he has achieved his works, and by what rules they should be judged of. In the same spirit, he gives us occasional comments and explanations in his notes, to elucidate the incidents and the language of his *dramatis personæ*. This is virtually admitting the mediocrity of his work; for it is easy to imagine how out of place and trivial such analyses, keys, and running commentaries by the author himself, would be in the *chef-d'œuvres* of literature. Imagine Milton to have given a key to his Sampson Agonistes, or his Comus, or Shakspeare to his Falstaff or Hamlet, Addison to his Sir Roger, or Sir Walter Scott to his Baillie Jarvie. Genius does not

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descend from its "highest heaven of invention" to justify its flight by metaphysical or historical disquisitions, by an affidavit or a rule of Quintilian. But Mr. Bulwer's is not a "muse of fire"; it is only a rhetorical muse, of a good high-school education, that is never "enraged, possessed, till madness rules the hour." He is in no danger of being carried away with his characters; like his "consummate puppy," as he rightly makes his "gentleman," Mr. Henry Pelham, denominate himself, he always knows what he is about, and not only so, he is very obligingly ready, by a side whisper, to let his readers into his secret.

It is in entire accordance with this industrious, mediocre, mechanical mode of proceeding, that he very often introduces his personages with an inventory of their features and dress, height of the person and of the forehead, color of the hair, teeth, and the model of the nose, whether Grecian, bottle, or eagle-beaked, and so on to the end of the catalogue, with the regularity of an anatomical lecture or a gazette of the fashions. But after all, it is only an aggregation of materials. *The being, the creature*, does not appear and make himself present to the reader. Forms are not to be conjured up in this way from the vasty deep of imagination. All the epithets of beautiful, lovely, cruel, fierce, odious, and so on, serve, it is true, to let us into the writer's design, but the qualities do not become embodied; they are still but so many abstractions. The ideal figures, if any, floating in the author's fancy, do not, in the end, breathe from the canvass. The reader does not imagine them to have ever been alive. His landscapes are wrought after the same method, and with like success. When Milton speaks of trim meadows pied with daisies, shallow brooks, and wide rivers, mountains on whose barren breasts rest laboring clouds, and towers and battlements bosomed high in tufted trees, the few expressions used, by that enchantment which belongs to the power of genius, open before you a vivid scene, more distinctly than can be done by exhausting the whole vocabulary of architecture and landscape gardening.

Another characteristic of these productions, as we have already hinted, is the utter selfishness and profligacy of sentiments that pervade the characters. Flattery is represented as one of the great instruments of success, and this, not by way of indirect satire upon a class in society, but as a just delineation of practical human nature. Thus Clarence Linden is

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made, at the first encounter, to salute with a kiss Dame Bingo, the gipsey hag. Upon the same principle the same personage proceeds with the tradesmen among the electors; and by the same process Pelham makes his brilliant career, as the author considers it, in the Parisian circles of fashion. To redeem this fault, of which the writer seems to be sensible, he gives us Mordaunt, accompanied with a dissertation upon his purity and exaltation of principle. But it is a sickly sort of energy, and a shy, unsocial sensitiveness, and dreamy philosophy, which constitute the elevation of this character; quite admirable, it is true, for misses far gone in the novel mania and boarding-school lore, but of quite secondary interest with sensible men and women who distinguish true beauty and excellence. To such these novels are not adapted; they are more congenial to the selfish, the heartless, the hypocritical, and those whose highest conceptions and aims do not rise above cleverness and cunning address; who, feeling nothing of generous nobility and sincere enthusiasm, deem all mankind to be of the same stamp with themselves. These are the "fit audience" and not "few" of the author of Pelham, &c., their fit oracle.

We would not be understood to insist that the fabricators of airy nothings, with names and local habitations, for the amusement of idle persons, should limit themselves to the production of insipid pattern characters. *Quicquid agunt homines, est farrago libelli;* the world is their stage, and they may well introduce such heroes of vice and folly, no less than of virtue and wisdom, as it supplies. But selfishness and egotism, with the vices and bad passions, have not blighted the whole surface; there is something of moral beauty and majesty still extant, and the false pictures which virtually represent them as extinct, are libels upon human nature in general, however faithful they may be as likenesses of the artists who make them. The new school in imaginative literature, of which Byron is a leader, and Mr. Bulwer one of the followers, delights in confounding moral distinctions, and making the unsocial passions the predominant motives of action in the least depraved characters, and the vices in others. Pirates, highway robbers, thieves, and murderers are the heroes, and kept mistresses the heroines. They may say that they represent these personages as warnings rather than as models; but what signify professions of this sort, when the fortunes of a raga-

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muffin with a dirk in his bosom and pistols in his belt, or of a reprobate in a fashionable coat, are followed with a grave solicitude through a long series of extravagant adventures and surprising achievements in his line, to which all other events and interests are merely collateral and subordinate. It is in vain to allege a moral which is contradicted by the whole tone of the narrative. It is the spirit and principle of the work to extol what is diabolical, and elevate what is contemptible, and accordingly to degrade what is worthy and estimable.

In one of those passages in "The Disowned," where the author speaks aside to the reader, he says, "The manners of the times, the characters which from peculiar constitutions of society derive peculiarities of distinction, become the natural, though, I confess, not the noblest, province of the novelist. The noblest sphere of his art is to add to exterior circumstances, which vary with every age, a painting of that internal world which in every age is the same; and, besides describing the fashion and the vestment, to stamp upon its portraits something of the character of the soul." This classification is sufficiently obscure; as well as we can make it out, it seems to be, that the best novelists represent character with manners; the second-rate, manners and modes of thinking without character; in which second class the author modestly ranks himself. It is hardly conceivable how a writer can invent and produce a character, without having in view the motives and principles of action and inmost sentiments. If he thus conceives and displays his characters, then he undertakes to "paint that internal world which in every age is the same"; if he does not so conceive and display them, the conception is crude, and the execution wavering, indistinct, and perhaps inconsistent. These are the very faults we have objected to in Mr. Bulwer's delineations. His notion, that his execution in this respect is the result of his system, or belongs to his province of novel-writing, is, we apprehend, an entire mistake; it is, we think, a matter of sheer necessity. His specimens are not merely in a subordinate line; they are incomplete; they do not come up to the mark aimed at. They consist too much of superficies; they have not soul enough, good or bad. As a part of the brain suffices for thinking, and a part of the lungs for breathing, so a fragment of a soul serves to animate these personages. And this is owing to a secondary style of

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execution, not to the cultivation of a subordinate province in novel-writing.

But we are digressing from the subject proposed in quoting the above passage from our author, namely, his delineation of manners. By *manners* we mean the display of the social or unsocial sentiments in conversation, conduct, and deportment towards others. Good manners may be the spontaneous offspring of social dispositions, and they are then pleasing to all persons, whether polished gentlemen and ladies, or clowns and the wives of clowns. And so manners of this origin are pleasing, in whatever subject they are found. It is only the silliest and most frivolous of people, such as either have not qualities enough in mass to come up to what may be ranked as a *character*, or have overlaid and smothered what little nature they originally possessed, with conventional forms and affectation, — it is only such, who stop at the external signs or modes of indication, whereby the social and unsocial dispositions are manifested. All persons, of even a moderate share of sense, look at the true meaning of the indications. They care whether the meaning is kindness, respect, delicacy and refinement of sentiment; regarding less whether those indications are made in well-trained looks and tones of voice, and easy and graceful, or awkward and angular, movements; as a reader for instruction cares more about the sense itself, than whether it is expressed in Hebrew, or Greek, or Roman characters. The teachers of manners, accordingly, attempt to embody the tones, expressions, and other external indications of social dispositions, in a system of rules of good breeding. The pupil is taught to simulate those dispositions; and as, in acting, it is said that those performers who feel least, often personate best, so in manners, those who are conscious of the total want of social impulses, are the most scrupulous cultivators of their external signs. They are polite, in proportion as they are selfish and heartless. While on the other hand it often happens, that persons of great generosity and overflowing philanthropy, not having the most remote apprehension that their real sentiments can be mistaken, are comparatively careless of their formal deportment towards others, and this negligence may occasionally amount to impoliteness. But those of a kind and social nature do not, by any means, always carry their harshness and simplicity to rudeness, or even to negligence; and, on the other hand, those void of all sympathy, do not always

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affect to conceal their real indifference or malevolence under address and polish. In choosing intimate companions or friends, we ought to regard their real qualities; for mere acquaintances, the exterior indications serve tolerably well as a criterion. Persons incapable of friendship and thorough intimacy, are apt not to seek beyond the external symbols in others; they attach no particular meaning to the word *heart*, except as the name of a muscle. We see, then, how people must necessarily disagree respecting the manners of particular individuals, for the superficies of manner is all that some look for, or suppose to exist; while others are easily satisfied of the truth of external indications, though these may be a lie; and this deception is not to be wondered at, for simulators and dissemblers, like hypocrites, are the most rigid observers of ceremony. But others again may penetrate, or at least think they penetrate, the thin veil of courtesy, and see, under it, selfishness, paltry cunning, and impertinent egotism; and to these the same bland, punctilious, and studious practice of the rules of the art of pleasing, as laid down by the best authorities, will sometimes be odious, as it will aggravate the deformity of the dissocial sentiments thus attempted to be dissembled, and, besides, will imply disrespect in supposing that others can be so easily deceived. Accordingly, manners that are quite charming to one, will be insipid or annoying, or seem to be impertinent, to another.

Now Mr. Bulwer dwells very much on the outside of his personages, as already remarked, and as is proved by his elaborate dissertations upon the springs and clock-work, and his pointing out to you the strings he pulls to make the automata work. The delineation of manners is, accordingly, a great part of his undertaking. And in this respect he gives himself a wide field, not hesitating to place his heroes and heroines in situations, by which his own knowledge of society is very severely tested; and he does not fail to show his acquaintance with a great variety of forms of social intercourse. He appears to plume himself particularly on his skill in portraying fashionable life and manners. But in whatever scene he puts his persons, the manners are not the spontaneous incidents to the characters. Many of them, at least, as the author candidly confesses in the passage already cited, have no distinctive characters at all. His system is to take some passion, or *penchant*, or mode of thinking, or foible, and conduct it through various situations and adventures. The

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conversation and conduct are collateral accompaniments to this passion or abstract quality, foible, or mode of thinking, making a very incoherent, ill-defined whole. In the works of the masters, the manners are natural and characteristic, flowing spontaneously from principles of action and motives and propensities, with which the reader is made familiar, not by a collateral dissertation by the author in the capacity of a looker on, but by the action. In Mr. Bulwer's novels, accordingly, there is an affectation and fastidiousness of manners pervading almost the whole *dramatis personæ*. The lesson of these works is, as already suggested, that veritable honor, veracity, principle, and sincerity of purpose, if they exist at all, have little to do with the happiness and fortunes of men or women; that men come in contact only at the superficies, and that our exterior selves, being factitiously superinduced, take the place of our real selves, and, unless counteracted by fatality of circumstances, determine our fortunes. We are accordingly instructed, upon the Chesterfieldian system, to bestow our whole care upon the shell, — that the nucleus, the soul, the mind, the sentiments, and affections, are of little account. Now as the system of manners in these novels is, in general, avowedly based upon selfishness and prompted by egotism, the effect is similar to that of manners, influenced by the same motives in the actual intercourse of the world, where the disguise is seen through, and the hollowness and hypocrisy detected. For though the author discloses the motives, he does not disapprove of them; on the contrary, he holds up plotting, designing *bienséance*, and hypocrisy, practised according to conventional rules and forms, as the true models of manners. A sensible reader, therefore, lays down the book in disgust with its practical doctrines; a superficial, unprincipled reader, with fantastical notions of men and affairs, on the contrary, finds something quite congenial with himself in the book, and lays it down at the end with a very high opinion of his own and the author's philosophy and knowledge of mankind, and imagines the world to be tolerable, if it be indeed so, because there are so many people in it liable to be gulled, and used by means of their blind sides, follies, foibles, and simplicity. But he is the dupe, and honest, true men are the wise; for selfishness, egotism, and conceit, and small cunning, carry their just penalty with them; and a life of artifice and manœuvre is barren of all satisfaction, as well as pitiful.

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The conduct of the plot is as difficult in a novel as in a drama. It is so difficult that many authors have no plot at all, but merely carry their hero through a series of adventures and scenes, having no connexion or common bearing. The whole is a fictitious journal. Mr. Bulwer makes a plot, but sometimes digresses, which is allowable upon sufficient reasons given. But he has one artifice, which, we think, has an effect contrary to his intention. He apparently pleases himself with mystifying the reader, by way of working up his interest, instead of which he sometimes fairly runs down his curiosity. He is kept in the dark so long that he becomes indifferent to it; or, if he sees through the design, it is a failure on the part of the author. Thus, in the case of Mordaunt, whom Mr. Bulwer considers a model in his kind, and an answer to some objections that had been made to his novels, he is kept a long time under the disguise of Glendower. The reader indeed suspects who he is, but if this is intended by the author, it is inartificial to affect to keep him in the dark, when that is not the design; if, on the other hand, he is supposed to be deceived and really is so, he is quite fatigued with following so long the fortunes of one, who apparently has not any connexion with the main plot. So in the same novel, as in some of the others, the author brings up his different divisions of persons from time to time; and for this purpose, to all appearance at the time, stops the progress of the plot. In this way, in the novel just mentioned, the main plot, namely, the disposing of the hero, stands still three quarters of the time, in consequence of the author's keeping his secret so well; whereas it seems to be more skilful and more exciting, to keep the reader, as he goes along, expressly apprized of some connexion of all the parts, and not leave him merely to suspect it. He must be made to wish most vehemently that Mr. Clarence should marry Miss Clara, and he may be permitted to suspect that it may so turn out, though he is not to be so assured of it, as not to be exceedingly distressed with the difficulties.

Whatever may be thought of these novels in other respects, the literary execution is certainly very fine; *fine*, in the better sense of the term, seems to us to give its general character. It is sparkling, brilliant, sententious, and full of classical allusion and antithesis. The stories embody a great mass of superficial knowledge, collected from a very wide circuit.

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From this source the reader may bring away something for his pains.

But, of the philosophy and thinking, which occupy so great a space, we cannot speak in so high terms. These are not books of wisdom in respect to politics, political economy, or the philosophy of history, of society, or of the mind. In all these respects they seem to us to be always quite superficial, and often very false and pernicious.

Of the different novels, "The Pilgrims of the Rhine" is, in our estimation, decidedly the best. The author's brilliant sprightliness is applied, with remarkable success, in the burlesque way, to the fairies; and the digressions are pleasing, and introduced with address.

We should put next in rank, "Pelham" and "The Disowned." In one respect the latter may be classed with the historical novels of "The Last Days of Pompeii" and "Rienzi," and with "The Duchess de la Vallière," as it professes to give the manners and characteristic modes of thinking of seventy years ago; but, as a record of the past, we cannot think this, any more than the other historical novels, very successful. A false, fantastical glare is shed over the whole scene, as far as history is concerned. The labored eulogies upon Bolingbroke serve, as it seems to us, rather to depress the eulogist, than to raise the subject of them. The author cannot disengage himself from his own times, and identify himself with other times. It is all but disgusting, for instance, to meet with present Cockney dandyism, in the streets and *atria*, and Cockney slang, in the pot-houses of Pompeii, antedated some two thousand years, besides being placed far out of their true latitude.

Of "The Duchess de la Vallière" we have but little to say. It is said to play much more like Mr. Maelzel's automata worked by machinery, than like a genuine, dramatic performance. The attempt at a drama, with all the help of history to supply personages, betrays at once the defect apparent in the author's novels. The character, the individual entity, does not show himself. The persons move with a sort of spasmodic action, more as if they were put in motion by a galvanic battery, than as if animated by Promethean fire.

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ART. VI. — *Chemins de Fer Américains; Historique de leur Construction; Prix de Revient et Produit; Mode d'Administration adopté; Résumé de la Législation qui les régit.* Par GUILLAUME-TELL POUSSIN, ex-Major au Corps du Génie Américain, et Aide-de-Camp du Général du Génie Bernard. 4to. Paris, 1836.

WHEN we last took occasion to discuss a subject having relation to rail-roads, we labored to convince the public, that there were adequate motives for undertaking one of these great works of improvement, between the cities of Boston and Albany. The splendid results, which might be anticipated from such an undertaking, appeared worthy of exciting the efforts of the rich commonwealth of Massachusetts. But we felt then, that we were arguing to the deaf. Projects of this sort were, without ceremony, denounced as visionary; and those who urged them with any degree of confidence were regarded, by that class of men, who place the highest estimate on their own superior judgment and prudence, not merely with distrust, but literally as persons of unsound mind. There were, it is true, many individuals, who had calmly examined the subject, and who clearly foresaw, that this great improvement was destined to produce a revolution in the habits of society. There were also great numbers, who readily listened to, and as readily believed, the splendid predictions which were daily published, of the future success of this improvement. But the great mass of sober men, — those who mutually look to one another for lessons of prudence, who fully understand the mystery of making profitable investments, and who lead the counsels of legislative bodies, in all matters relating to public revenue and expenditures, — were as incredulous of any practical benefit to result from the introduction of rail-roads, as they still are of the utility of the aeronautic labors of Mr. Durant or Mr. Lauriat. The futility of the projects which were urged upon them, by those who had taken a different view of these subjects, was so self-evident to their minds, that they deemed all demonstration, argument, or examination altogether superfluous. They boldly shut their minds against conviction, with the intrepidity of men who believe that an appeal to their understandings is but a prelude to an attack upon their pockets.

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This prejudice did not prevail with equal force throughout the country. Its influence was strongest in New England. Here the triumph of this improvement has wrought its way, in opposition to the determined incredulity and apparent hostility of a great majority of that class of men, who, by the share which they hold in the wealth of the country, are most interested in its success, and who, from their general intelligence and foresight, might have been expected to be its earliest patrons. In Massachusetts, particularly, rail-roads have been successfully introduced in spite of the opposition of many who will be most benefited by them, and without the aid of such as alone could have given it without personal sacrifice. It is now proved by actual experience, that these works, when introduced with judgment, may become a source of reasonable profit to those who invest their property in them, and that their influence in promoting the public welfare is even more extensive and more striking, than the most sanguine of their advocates had ventured to predict. Throughout the country, there is now no want of confidence in the efficacy of this improvement on the public prosperity, and in general no want of disposition to patronize it. On the contrary, there is in almost every part of the country, too much ardor in pushing forward projects for these works, without sufficient consideration, and in undertaking enterprises beyond the means which can be brought to their support. The danger is that the country will suffer rather from the undertaking of too many, than too few works of this description.

We cannot admit, however, that the most ardent have formed an over-estimate of the benefits, which are to result from this new instrument of social and commercial intercourse. It will make a new era in the history of civilization. It multiplies the resources of society, by facilitating the intercourse between distant places, and still more, by enlarging the circle in which the members of the same community may act together with a concentrated effort. The distance by which towns and States are separated, is reduced by it, for all practical purposes, more than one half. The circle, within which the whole population may have a daily or hourly intercourse, is enlarged, at least, threefold, and the practical effect of this change is to leave to the population, scattered throughout this enlarged area, the advantages of their respective local positions, and to secure to them at the same time all the benefits

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of a frequent and easy communication with one another, which before could have been obtained only by means of actual juxtaposition. The city of Boston, for example, possessing within her own limits about eighty thousand souls, is surrounded, within a little more than forty miles, by a population of four hundred thousand persons, engaged in various occupations for which their respective situations are adapted, with the advantages of soil, ample space, water power, and many other privileges, which could be enjoyed by them, only in their respective dispersed places of residence. By means of the four rail-roads stretching towards the four points of the compass, with their respective branches diverging in all directions, the most remote of this population, instead of being distant a day's journey, will be placed within the compass of a three hours' ride from the city, and many of them within the limits of a single hour. In other words, the advantages of vicinage to the metropolis are extended to twice the distance, and of course embrace four times the area, over which the same advantages extended, before this improvement was known. What will be the ultimate effects of this concentration, it is impossible to foresee; but it is evident that it will give an impulse to the movements of society, which no other known cause could produce.

It having been at length demonstrated, beyond the power of contradiction, by the actual success of rail-roads already in operation, that they are destined to have an important influence on the welfare of communities, it is natural that each portion of the country should exhibit an eagerness to secure its share in the benefit. All men have discernment enough to perceive, that while the public at large are about to derive a benefit from the general introduction of this improvement, its most striking advantages are of a local character, and are to be secured only by an appropriate direction of the respective improvements. They perceive also, that there must be a limit to the number and extent of these improvements, and that in many cases, to secure the benefit to a particular tract of country, it is necessary to seize the occasion of appropriating it, before it is appropriated by more active competitors in some neighbouring region. The improvement consists in the introduction of new and improved channels for the intercourse of society. When it was first discovered that rivers were not the only channels for this intercourse, the whole country

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was open for a new competition. There was a wide field for selection, in the choice of these channels. But when the selection is once made and the ground occupied, it will be obviously much more difficult to change the direction of these channels, or to introduce substitutes for them, than it would have been in the first instance, by a prudent foresight, to have given them a different direction. For this reason, a much greater degree of eagerness in the pressing of works of this description is excusable, in situations in which the immediate prospects of business seem hardly to justify it, than would otherwise be thought judicious. The great channels of business have been often formed by the mere force of a current, which was produced at first by slight and perhaps accidental causes. Cities continue to grow, not because their situation is intrinsically the most advantageous, but because they have already acquired a certain growth, which of itself contains within it the elements of further increase.

The commercial advantages of the city of New York secure to her a decided preëminence over the other ports of the Union. Her unrivalled inland navigation, — her steamboats stretching their regular and rapid voyages to Albany, to Hartford, to Providence, and even to Charleston, — her lines of packets, to Liverpool, to London, to Havre, and to many other ports, — her canals, extending the line of navigation to Lake Champlain and Lower Canada, to Lakes Ontario and Erie, and to the whole western country, — and her unlimited resources in the wealth and enterprise of her citizens, seemed destined to give her, at no remote period, a monopoly of the great foreign trade of the country. The towns of a secondary class, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Boston, and Charleston, were approaching daily the condition of provincial towns, dependent for all the principal operations of commerce on the port of New York. A great part of the domestic trade of Massachusetts had by degrees formed a direct connexion with that city. Canals were dug leading in that direction, from the counties of Hampden, and Hampshire, and even from Worcester, the very centre of the State. Boston, the metropolis formerly of New England, had almost ceased to be the commercial metropolis of her own State. The other cities of the Union were suffering under a similar influence. The whole trade of the country seemed destined to be re-

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stricted to those channels, which were adapted to either steam or canal navigation.

In this state of things, rail-roads were introduced on public routes in England, and became known in this country. It was evident from the first proofs of their efficacy, as a method of travelling, that they were capable of producing a great change in the face of things; that the currents of traffic and of personal intercourse, instead of passing only through channels where water could be made to flow, might be led across mountains, and through every region enlivened by human industry; and that the prosperity of cities, instead of depending on the accident of being placed on a navigable stream, which can float its commerce to a vast interior, would hereafter depend upon the foresight and energy of their inhabitants, in forming for themselves the channels of intercourse, and in supplying them with the fruits of their industry.

These considerations serve to account for the earnestness of the early friends of rail-roads, in endeavouring to impress on the public mind a conviction of their utility and importance; and for the eagerness of the public, in undertaking these improvements, as soon as they become convinced of their utility. Under these circumstances it is not surprising, that in many instances the zeal of those who undertake these works, should far outstrip their ability to carry them into execution; or that among the many judicious projects, which promise successful results, there should be also many, which are likely to disappoint the expectations of their projectors, and still more which are impracticable and visionary.

The volume of M. Poussin, the title of which is placed at the head of this article, consists of a classification and general description of all the rail-roads which are completed, and which are in the process of construction in the United States. Had it embraced also but a brief notice of the rail-roads projected, the volume would have been swollen to a much larger size. On the list of those which are yet but projects, there are many which are destined to form an important part of the system of internal communication in the United States. But those which are completed, with those which are in rapid progress, form an ample subject for an important and interesting work. M. Poussin classifies the different works which came within the scope of his plan, under two heads; 1st, those

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which form the line of the Atlantic, and 2d, those which lead from places on the Atlantic to the interior.

The works of the first of these classes are destined to form, with the addition of a few connecting links of steam navigation, a line of communication from Portland in Maine, to Wilmington in North Carolina, a distance of nine hundred miles. Over eight hundred miles of this distance, viz. from Boston to Wilmington, as soon as the works now commenced shall be completed, the ordinary passage will probably be performed in four days, without night travelling.

The works of the second class, some of which are projected on a most magnificent scale, besides a great number of rail-roads leading from towns on the sea-board to places in the interior of the same State, or an adjoining State, embrace not less than six or seven lines of communication, from cities on the Atlantic to the navigable waters of the Western States. M. Poussin, in his work, confines himself to a description of those portions of these grand lines of communication, which are either finished or are actually commenced. To form an idea, however, of the true character of these works, and of the bearing which they are destined to have on the future prosperity of the country, it is necessary to look at them as parts of the grand system of improvement, to which they respectively belong, and to take notice of some of the parts of the system, which are not yet completed, or even in the actual process of execution. We shall, therefore, take a hasty review of the principal projected systems of improvement, taking care to distinguish those which are completed, and in actual operation, from those which are in progress, and these again, from such as are merely projected. This review, we think, will strike with some surprise those who have not carefully watched the progress of these improvements, and will show, that the country is in the way to be supplied, in the course of a very few years, with facilities of communication which will rival those of any other country.

In New England, the line of the Atlantic will begin at Portland or perhaps at Bangor, and, proceeding near the sea-coast, through Saco, Portsmouth, Newburyport, and Salem to Boston, will continue its course through Providence to Stonington, and after crossing Long Island Sound, where it is twenty-five miles in width, it is proposed to carry it along nearly the whole length of Long Island, through Jamaica to

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Brooklyn, near the city of New York. This will constitute the immediate sea-coast line. But there will be others through a great part and perhaps the whole of the distance, a little farther inland, viz. from Portland through Dover, Exeter, and Haverhill to Boston, thence through Worcester to Norwich or New London, and thence by steam navigation to New York; and also from Boston through Worcester, Springfield, Hartford, and New Haven, by a connected series of rail-roads to New York. Of the series of works which will form this double and triple line of communication, along the coast of the New England States, four are already completed, viz. from Boston to Providence, from Boston to Worcester, from Boston to Andover, including a part of the Lowell rail-road, and from Brooklyn to Jamaica, making an extent of an hundred and twenty miles; and six others are commenced and in active progress, by organized joint stock companies; viz. from Providence to Stonington, from Boston to Newburyport, from Andover to Haverhill, from Worcester to Norwich, from Worcester to Springfield, and from Hartford to New Haven, making a farther extent of two hundred and twenty miles. The series will thus far be finished in the course of two or three years, and the other portions of the lines described there is reason to believe will, in great part at least, be completed at no remote period thereafter.

When these lines of rail-road are completed, the ordinary passage from Portland to Boston will be performed in about six hours, and that from Boston to New York in twelve. The projected roads, between Boston and New York, will present to the traveller a choice among three routes; one by way of Providence, Stonington, and Long Island, which will give about a hundred and ninety miles of land travel, and twenty-five of steam navigation; one by way of Worcester, Norwich, and Long Island Sound, which will give a hundred and three miles of land travel, and a hundred and twenty-five of steam navigation; and the third by way of Worcester, Springfield, and New Haven, with two hundred and twenty-five miles of land and steam, or continued land travel. The difference of time required for the three routes will not be sufficient to give either a decided precedence over the other two, to those who may take an interest in viewing the country passed through. Any one of the routes will reduce the passage

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from Boston to New York, to an easy day's journey, the whole of which may be usually performed by daylight.

In proceeding southwardly from New York, we find two distinct lines of rail-road uniting that city with Philadelphia. The first of these is the Camden and Amboy rail-road, constructed with a double track, and leading from the port of South Amboy, in a southwesterly direction across the State of New Jersey, a distance of sixty miles, to Camden, on the easterly banks of the Delaware, opposite to the city of Philadelphia. The passage from New York to Amboy is made by steamboat navigation, a distance of twenty-five miles through an inland passage, which separates Staten Island from the shore of New Jersey. The passage from New York to Philadelphia is made in five and a half hours.

The other line is entirely distinct from that just described. It is of about the same length, and leads from the ferry, opposite to the city of New York, through the city of Newark, and the towns of Brunswick and Trenton, directly to the city of Philadelphia. This line consists of three distinct rail-roads united in one line; one extending from the ferry to New Brunswick, the second from New Brunswick to Trenton, and the third from Trenton to Philadelphia. The second of these roads is not yet finished; the other two are in full operation. This route will have the advantage of passing through the principal towns of New Jersey, while the other passes directly through a very barren and desolate region.

In continuing the Atlantic line from Philadelphia to Baltimore, there will also soon be a choice of several routes. That which has been hitherto chiefly travelled, is the New Castle and Frenchtown rail-road, which extends only across the peninsula from the Delaware River to Chesapeake Bay, a distance of sixteen miles, and serves as the connecting link of a chain of steamboat navigation, by which the rest of the passage is made, from Philadelphia to Baltimore. The distance by the course of the steamboat from Philadelphia to New Castle is thirty-five miles, and that from Frenchtown to Baltimore nearly double, making the whole distance from Philadelphia to Baltimore a hundred and twenty miles. The time usually occupied in making the passage is from ten to eleven hours, that part of it made by the rail-road occupying one hour.

Another distinct route, from Philadelphia to Baltimore, yet

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unfinished, but a great part of it nearly ready to be put in operation, consists of three rail-roads; the first leading from Philadelphia to Wilmington in Delaware; the second leading from Wilmington by way of Elkton, to the Susquehannah River; and the third from Port Deposit, on this river, to Baltimore; the whole distance being one hundred miles. A part of this road, extending from Wilmington to Elkton, a distance of seventeen miles, has been quite recently opened. The work on the other portions of the road is far advanced, and it is anticipated that it will be opened early in the present summer. When the whole is completed, the passage upon it, between the two cities, will be performed in about six hours.

Still another route has been projected, pursuing the Columbia road from Philadelphia, a distance of forty-five miles, and diverging thence by a new rail-road from Coatsville, by Oxford, to Point Deposit, and proceeding thence to Baltimore by the route above mentioned. This route is less direct than that last described, and the distance thereon will be a hundred and twenty miles.

From Baltimore, the Atlantic line extends to Washington, a distance of thirty-eight miles. This road consists of a double track, and is identical for a distance of eight miles with the Baltimore and Ohio rail-road. It is usually travelled in about two hours and a half. Thus the whole distance from Boston to Washington is travelled, nearly in a direct course, either by rail-road cars or by steam navigation; and before the end of the present year, it is probable that the whole distance from New York to Washington, may be travelled by rail-roads, and in the space of fourteen hours.

From Washington, the Atlantic line of rail-road extends in a southerly direction, through the State of Virginia. From the city of Washington, the Potomac runs for about forty-five miles, in nearly a direct southerly course, to Potomac Creek. This part of the river is well adapted to steam navigation, and on this part of the line no rail-road has yet been commenced. A charter has been granted for a rail-road from the city of Washington, passing through Alexandria to Fredericksburgh, with the right of making a branch to Warrenton. Books have been opened for subscriptions to the stock, but the company is not yet organized. From Fredericksburgh to Richmond, the rail-road is already built and in successful operation. It is sixty-one miles in length, and it is traversed

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daily by passenger cars, carrying the mail, in something less than four hours. It is proposed to extend this road from Fredericksburgh to Potomac Creek, a distance of seven miles, unless the Fredericksburgh and Washington road is immediately prosecuted, in which case the extension will be rendered unnecessary. In proceeding southwardly from Richmond to Petersburg, the rail-road line is not yet completed. A company is formed for the construction of a road, the distance being about twenty miles, and the work is considerably advanced. The want of this part of the line is the less felt, in consequence of the steamboat navigation between these two places, by the circuitous channel of the James and Appomatox rivers. The completion of the rail-road on this part of the route will materially shorten the line of travel. Between Petersburg and the Roanoke, the rail-road is already completed. This was one of the first, and it is one of the finest rail-roads in the country. It is fifty-nine miles in length, and it forms a channel for the transport of the produce of the rich valley of the Roanoke to a market at Petersburg. It is regularly traversed by locomotive engines, and the mail is daily transported upon it.

Besides the route just described, passing through Baltimore, Washington, and Richmond, to the Roanoke, and terminating near the northern border of North Carolina, there is another, called the Eastern Shore and Norfolk route. It is proposed to construct a rail-road which shall diverge from the Wilmington and Susquehannah road, near Elkton, and after proceeding in a southerly course, and nearly in a right line, over a very level country near the eastern boundary of Maryland, to Princess Ann, terminate at Tangier Sound, near the southern border of the state. The length of this rail-road will be a hundred and eighteen miles. To continue the line of communication from Tangier Sound, to Norfolk and Portsmouth, it is proposed to establish a line of steamboats, to run daily, a distance of eighty-five miles. At Portsmouth, a rail-road is already constructed, leading thence westwardly to Weldon, on the Roanoke River, near the termination of the Petersburg road, a distance of seventy-five miles. On this road a train of cars runs daily, receiving passengers who leave Halifax by stage coaches in the morning, and conveying them to Portsmouth before dinner, where they embark in the steamboats, which now run to Baltimore and Washington. By means of this

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route, Norfolk shares with Petersburg in the trade of the Roanoke valley; and, should the project of the Eastern Shore rail-road be carried into effect, this city will be placed on the shortest line of communication along the shore of the Atlantic.

At the Roanoke River terminates the Atlantic line now in operation; but it is in a fair way to be soon extended from this point, in one direction to the centre, and in another to the southern extremity, of the State of North Carolina. A company is formed for constructing a rail-road from the termination of the Petersburg and Roanoke Rail-road, at Weldon, in a southwesterly direction through Halifax to Raleigh, a distance of eighty miles. The road is laid out, and the work upon it is in active progress. Another company is formed, called the Wilmington and Raleigh Rail-road Company, by whom a rail-road is laid out, and the work upon it begun, leading from Halifax on the Roanoke, in a southerly direction, a hundred and sixty miles, through the whole width of the State, to Wilmington. It is proposed to construct branches leading from this road to Raleigh and Fayetteville, and also a branch to Newbern and Beaufort. From Wilmington, it is proposed to continue the line of travel by steam navigation to Charleston, a distance of a hundred and sixty miles. There are also projects for extending the line of rail-road from Raleigh to Charleston, a distance of two hundred and fifty miles, or to Columbia, a hundred and eighty miles, and thence to Augusta in Georgia; but they have not yet assumed such a shape, as to authorize any confident expectation that they will be soon carried into execution.

We proceed to notice the principal rail-roads included in the second class, the most important of which are such as form lines of communication, from the shore of the Atlantic, to the navigable waters of the Western States. The first, and one of the most important of these lines, begins at the city of Boston, passes westerly through the whole length of the State of Massachusetts, to West Stockbridge, and thence through the greatest length of the State of New York, by the way of Albany and Utica, to Buffalo, the principal port on Lake Erie, and thence by the southeasterly shore of the lake, to the town of Erie, in Pennsylvania, the whole length being about six hundred miles.

This extensive line will consist of no less than eleven distinct works, constructed by that number of independent com-

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panies, each with the right of entire control over its own portion of the line, but so connected with one another, that the same engines and cars may run, if occasion should require it, from one extremity of the line to the other, with the single interruption of a ferry at Albany. Of the eleven portions of the line, three are already completed, and in full operation, embracing some of the most difficult and expensive parts of the route. Three others, embracing the remainder of the difficult parts of the work, are in progress, the whole capital deemed necessary being secured, and portions of the work under contract. The five remaining companies, having in charge parts of the line between Utica and Erie, are either recently organized, or are now engaged in completing the subscriptions to their stock. The comparatively small expense at which this western part of the line may be built, and the entire success of the Utica road, leave no doubt that this remaining portion, at least as far as Buffalo, will be completed at no remote period.

The several works which compose this line are, 1st. The Boston and Worcester Rail-road, which leads from a convenient point on the harbour of Boston, to the centre of the town of Worcester, a distance of forty-four miles. It consists at present, of a single track, but it is of sufficient width for another track, whenever it shall be found necessary. It is built of the edge rail, weighing forty pounds to a yard, supported by cast-iron chairs, on cross sleepers of cedar, which rest on a bed of stone rubble. Although it passes through a hilly country, crossing the principal streams between Boston and Worcester, with the heights of land which lie between them, and reaches an elevation, at Worcester, of four hundred and fifty feet above the level of the sea, it has no ascent greater than thirty feet in a mile, and has little curvature, except in the city of Boston near its termination, of less radius than 2000 feet. The cost of this road, including the extensive buildings and depôts in Boston and Worcester, and the intermediate towns, with a liberal supply of locomotive engines and cars, was a million and a half of dollars. The time usually occupied in making the passage from Boston to Worcester is three hours, including the time lost in stopping at ten intermediate places, for receiving and discharging passengers. It has been found by experiment, that the passage may be easily made in two and a half hours, by a slight

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increase of speed, and by curtailing the periods of stopping; but a regard for the convenience and comfort of the passengers has led to the adoption of the rate of travelling above mentioned, viz. fifteen miles an hour, including the time lost in stopping once in every four miles. It is also found by experience, on this road as well as on the Providence and Lowell Rail-roads, that twenty miles an hour, without including stops, is a safe rate of travelling, agreeable in its effect on the passengers, and easily maintained by the engines in use on all these roads. A much swifter rate is practicable, but it is hardly consistent with a regard for the safety of the passengers. From these facts it may be assumed, that on a long line of well-constructed rail-roads, on which the long travel is sufficient to justify the maintenance of passenger trains running through the line, without frequent stops for the accommodation of the way travel, the usual speed will be nearly equal to twenty miles an hour, or at least a hundred miles in six hours. At this rate, the passage will be made from Boston to Albany in twelve hours, and from Boston to Buffalo, or Niagara, in thirty hours, or in two days, in the summer season, travelling by daylight only.

The second link in this chain of communication is the Western Rail-road, extending from Worcester through Springfield, to the line of the State of New-York, at West Stockbridge. For the construction of this road, an incorporated company is formed, with a capital of three millions of dollars, of which one million is subscribed by the State of Massachusetts. The conditions of this subscription are, that assessments shall be paid on the stock belonging to the State, in the same proportion as they are levied on that belonging to individuals, and three of the nine directors are appointed by the legislature. Three assessments, amounting to $450,000, have been paid. A part of the road, extending twenty miles west from Worcester across the highlands, which have been denominated the backbone of the State, has been put under contract for the grading and masonry. It is understood that some parts of the line, in crossing the highlands, will be formed with an inclination of forty feet in a mile. The rest of the line along the valley of the Chickopee River, to a point near Springfield, is comparatively easy of construction, and will be formed on a gradual and almost uniform descent. This part of the route is in readiness to be put under contract, and it is

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presumed the work will be in progress throughout the line, early in the present season. The length of the line from Worcester to Springfield is fifty-four miles, and from Boston to Springfield, ninety-eight miles. Investigations and surveys have been industriously prosecuted, on various routes from Springfield to West Stockbridge, preparatory to an early location of that part of the line. A considerable portion of the route being yet undetermined, it is not possible to say what will be the precise length of the line, but it may be assumed at not far from sixty-two miles. For the same reason, no precise estimate of the cost of the whole road can yet be made ; but as a great part of the line will follow the channels of the two principal streams, and as the whole line will probably conform more nearly with the natural surface of the ground, than the Boston and Worcester road, on which there is much deep excavation, frequently through rock, it may be fairly presumed that the cost will be less in proportion to its length, than that of the latter road. It will also be exempt from the high charges for land and damages, to which the latter was subjected in and near the metropolis. From these considerations it may be presumed, that the amount of capital already secured will be sufficient for the completion of the work.

The third link in the chain consists of the Albany and West Stockbridge Rail-road. This is already in progress, by a company formed at Albany, under a charter from the legislature of New York. It has a capital of $650,000, of which $250,000 are subscribed by the City of Albany, in its corporate capacity. This fact shows the deep interest which the citizens of that town take in the opening of this new channel of communication with the county of Berkshire, and with the whole of Massachusetts and the other New England States. The business transactions now carried on between the county of Berkshire and the ports of the Hudson River, are very extensive ; and it is reasonable to anticipate that they will be much increased by the facilities which this work will afford. In reliance upon the extent of this business, the people of the city of Hudson have also undertaken the construction of a rail-road, leading directly from that city to West Stockbridge, and to be united with the Western Rail-road, near its junction with the Albany road. These two roads will thus give to the travel and trade from Massachusetts a double outlet to the Hudson River. The directors of the Albany road, after a

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thorough examination of a number of routes, one of which followed for some miles the course of the Hudson road, finally selected one leading through New Lebanon, which reaches Greenbush, on the eastern bank of the Hudson, opposite to the city of Albany, in a distance of forty-one miles and three quarters. This route has no descent or ascent greater than forty feet in a mile, and no curve of less radius than a thousand feet. This distance, added to the probable length of the two roads in Massachusetts, will make the whole distance from Boston to Albany about two hundred miles.

The next section of the line, in proceeding westward from Albany, consists of the Hudson and Mohawk Rail-road, which terminates at Schenectady, a distance of sixteen miles. This road was built several years since, with two tracks, at a cost of $1,100,000, amounting to nearly $70,000 a mile. The greater part of this road is made either level, or with planes of moderate inclination. It has, however, two planes, one near Albany of a thousand yards in length, and the other near Schenectady of near seven hundred yards, each of which inclines from a level, at the rate of one eighteenth, and each requiring a stationary steam-engine to enable the trains to traverse them. These two inclined planes subject the company to an extra expense of twelve thousand dollars a year. Notwithstanding the heavy expense of this road, and these disadvantages of location, it is a productive property to the proprietors, though, on account of its heavy cost, not equal in value to the anticipations of its projectors.

The next section, extending from Schenectady to Utica, a distance of seventy-seven miles, was opened on the 1st of August last, under more flattering auspices. It was built, with a single track, in a comparatively short period of time, and at a cost, including eight locomotive engines, and embracing a heavy expenditure for the purchase of land, and for damages to a turnpike company, not exceeding a million and a half of dollars, or about $20,000 a mile. On the celebration of the opening above alluded to, four hundred gentlemen left Albany, in eighteen cars, drawn by two locomotive engines, and, after passing over the Mohawk road, and stopping occasionally along the Utica road to receive the congratulations of its friends, reached Utica for dinner. After dinner they returned to Schenectady in less than four hours, and, deducting the aggregate of the stops, in three hours and twenty-one minutes, being a

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rate of twenty-three miles an hour. They then proceeded to Albany, where they arrived about sunset, having completed a journey of one hundred and eighty-eight miles within the day, and devoted some hours to the festivities of the occasion. From the date of the opening, two trains of cars, drawn by locomotives, have left each end of the road daily, one in the morning and the other at noon. The receipts, within the two months from the opening, amounted to an average of near $1200 daily. This was from the fare of passengers only, the company being forbidden by their charter to carry freight, except in winter, lest it should detract from the income of the Erie Canal, which runs parallel to it, and is the property of the State.

The next section of the line extends from Utica to Syracuse, a distance of fifty-four miles. A company has been formed for the construction of this road with a capital of $800,000; but we do not learn whether they have made any progress in the execution of the work. The route is entirely level, the canal between the two towns being constructed without a single lock. A company is also formed with a capital of $650,000, to construct a rail-road from Utica to Oswego, a port from which steamboats regularly take their departure from the principal ports on the lake, and from which there is a continued navigation, through the Welland Canal, to Lake Erie and the upper lakes. The next succeeding section of the great western line extends from Syracuse to Auburn, a distance of twenty-six miles. The maximum of inclination is thirty feet in a mile, and there is no curvature of a less radius than fifteen hundred feet. The construction of this road was some time since commenced, by a company with a capital of $400,000, more than half of which has been already expended on the work. The rails are contracted for, to be delivered in May next, by which time it is anticipated the grading and masonry of the road will be completed. The eighth section of the line extends from Auburn, by way of Geneva and Canandaigua, a circuitous course, to Rochester, a distance of seventy miles. The cost of this road is estimated by the engineer at $820,000 if built with a single track, and $1,013,000 if with a double track. The stock of the company is taken up, to the amount of $1,200,000, and they have a right by their charter to increase it to $2,000,000. The two next sections extend from Rochester to Attica, and from Attica to

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Buffalo. Companies are organized for the construction of these two roads, but their progress hitherto is limited to the making of the surveys. The route is not difficult or expensive. On the Attica and Buffalo section the greatest inclination will be thirty-five feet in a mile. A company is formed for the construction of the rail-road from Buffalo to Erie, with a capital of $650,000, the whole of which is subscribed.

We have been thus particular in the description of this line of rail-roads, on account of the effect it is destined to have on the interests of the East and the West. It opens a channel by which the currents of moving population and the tide of commerce may flow backward and forward, between the manufacturing States of the East and the agricultural regions of the West, in place of a mountain barrier, which has hitherto turned the course of both towards the ports of the Atlantic. It is easy to foresee that the benefits, which must result from it, to the inhabitants at each extremity, must be of the most striking character. Whether we regard it as merely opening new sources of wealth, or as extending the means of social intercourse, and strengthening the bonds of union between distant States, we cannot place too high an estimate upon its advantages. Some of the other lines of communication promise similar results to the tracts of country which they are intended to serve. But we shall be obliged to despatch them with a more cursory notice.

The next line of rail-road from the Atlantic to the Western States, is the New York and Erie Rail-road. This road will commence at Tappan on the western shore of the Hudson River, twenty-four miles from the city of New York, and, after running northwesterly and westerly, within the State of New York, near the northern boundary of New Jersey and Pennsylvania, a distance of near five hundred miles, it will terminate at Dunkirk, a port on Lake Erie. It is estimated that this road will cost six millions of dollars. A capital of $1,800,000 has been subscribed by individuals, and the legislature of New York has engaged to make a loan of $3,000,000, certain portions of which are to be advanced on the completion of specified portions of the road; the last million not to be paid, until the whole road, with a double track, shall be completed. Books are opened to increase the subscription of capital to $3,000,000. In anticipation of the advantages which will result from the enterprise to the proprietors of real estate at

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the western termination of the route, and at other places west of the Genesee River, large donations of land have been made to the company, which are valued at one or two millions of dollars. These donations have enabled the company to offer to those who now are, or who may become subscribers to the stock, six per cent. per annum until the year 1841, on all sums which shall be called in on their respective subscriptions, up to that time, to be provided by sales, as far as shall be necessary, of these lands. This offer has been made with the further proviso, that the residue of the lands, which shall be unsold in 1841, shall be divided among the holders, at that time, of the three millions of stock. It is anticipated that by that time the work will be so far completed, as to admit of an income being derived from the road itself. This is a magnificent project, which must be productive of important results, in increasing the business of the city of New York, and in giving a new accessible frontier, along the whole length of the State, and thereby producing a vast accumulation of valuable property within its limits. Should it far exceed the estimate which has been made of the cost, these advantages will fully justify the expenditure.

On proceeding southwardly to Philadelphia, we meet a third projected system of Western rail-roads, leading from that city to the Ohio River, and Lake Erie. There are already completed and in full operation in Pennsylvania, eight hundred and eighty-six miles of canal, and three hundred miles of rail-road; a part of which is the property of the State, and the rest the property of incorporated companies. There are in the process of construction, three hundred and five miles of canal, and four hundred miles of rail-road, and there are besides many works projected of both descriptions, which are not yet commenced. Among the works completed are a line consisting partly of rail-road, and partly of canal, belonging to the State, leading from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh. This line of works, though of great utility, does not admit of that rapidity of communication which is found desirable, and which is afforded by a continued line of rail-roads. The public attention has therefore been lately directed to the importance of a continued rail-road, leading not only to the Ohio River at Pittsburgh, but to Lake Erie. No definite route, however, has yet been designated for this road, and no plan is matured for the construction of it in its whole extent. It is proposed that it

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shall consist in part of some of the works already constructed. The principal of these is the Columbia Rail-road, which extends from Philadelphia to Columbia, a distance of eighty miles, and is constructed with a double track. A branch diverging from this road at Lancaster, and extending to Harrisburgh, the seat of government of the State, is nearly finished. A bill is now before the legislature for authorizing a further extension of this line from Harrisburgh to Sunbury, and it is proposed to make a still further extension from Sunbury to Williamsport. A convention of delegates from the counties of the State was lately held at Northumberland, which recommended an application to the legislature for the incorporation of a company with adequate capital, to construct a rail-road from Lake Erie, by way of Williamsport, to Sunbury, thus completing the line to Philadelphia. Various other measures have been adopted, which show a strong direction of the public mind towards the attainment of the main object, in the manner which shall be found on investigation to be the best. Some of the projects recommended tend towards the town of Erie, as the point of western termination, and others, towards Cleaveland in Ohio, by way of Pittsburgh and Beaver. It is, perhaps, safe to infer, that, considering the ample means for the attainment of this object, possessed by the people of this great State, and the stimulus which their patriotism is likely to receive, from witnessing the continued progress of the New York and Erie road on their northern border, and tending to divert a portion of the business of the West from their own capital, these projects will not be suffered to remain unexecuted. The mineral treasures of the State are alone sufficient, in many places, to support these works as mere local improvements, for rendering the mines accessible. In this respect the mountainous regions of Pennsylvania possess a decided advantage over those of New England.

The next line of rail-road leading from the Atlantic to the waters of the West, is the Baltimore and Ohio Rail-road. This may be considered the pioneer rail-road of the country. It was not only the first which attempted to traverse the Alleghany, but it was the first rail-road of any magnitude attempted in the United States. We have heretofore fully noticed the early history and progress of this enterprise. It has met with impediments to the attainment of its main object, the crossing of the mountains, of a most vexatious and embarrassing char-

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acter, from coming in conflict with a rival improvement, the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, which had preoccupied the only channel through which it could pass. These impediments are at length removed, by an adjustment, by which both works will pass side by side, through the same channel, at a considerably increased cost to the rail-road. In the mean time, the directors of this road have learned much, from their own experience, as well as from other sources, respecting the best methods of laying out, constructing, and managing a work of this description. From this experience, and from improvements made by their officers, the country has derived great benefit. They can now proceed in the extension of their road towards the east, to much greater advantage, than they could have done six or eight years ago. Several points in the science of rail-roads, which were then either unknown, or not generally admitted, are now considered as settled axioms. Such are the following; slight deviations from a level, in the surface of the road, are not to be regarded as serious defects, as they afford an advantage, in many situations, in the draining of the road, sufficient to counterbalance the slight evil arising from the inequality of draft, required on the ascending and the level or descending portions of the road. Short curves are defects of a more serious nature, than they were esteemed by the engineers who laid out the Baltimore and Ohio Rail-road; and even a slight degree of curvature, although it may not be sensibly felt in the motion of the train, tends to increase the wear of wheels and axles. Much steeper inclinations can be advantageously traversed by locomotive power, than was formerly thought practicable. This fact has been satisfactorily established, by experiments made on the Baltimore and Ohio Rail-road, and by experience elsewhere. It results from this discovery that inclined planes, with stationary power, may be dispensed with on many routes, where formerly they would have been deemed indispensable; yet the limit to which this principle may be carried remains to be tested by experience. Locomotive engines are found to be so decidedly superior as a motive power, for the transport of either freight or passengers, that the use of horses must be entirely superseded by them, on all works of any magnitude. They are cheaper, less hazardous, more manageable, and injure the road less. The iron edge rail resting on cross sleepers, is preferable to the flat rail laid on a continuous support of either iron or wood.

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These and certain other truths, which could be learned only from experience, had they been known before the commencement of the Baltimore and Ohio Rail-road, would have enabled the enterprising projectors of that road to make a great saving in some of their items of expenditure.

The Baltimore and Ohio Rail-road is completed with a double track from Baltimore to Harper's Ferry, with a branch to Fredericktown, at a cost of $3,474,600. There is, besides, a branch diverging from it at a point eight miles distant from Baltimore, to Washington, built at the additional cost of $1,588,899. This branch last year produced a net income of five per cent., exclusive of a fifth part of the whole receipts from passengers, reserved as a bonus to the State. From Harper's Ferry a rail-road has been built, by an independent company, extending to Winchester in Virginia. This road is connected with the Baltimore and Ohio Rail-road, by a continuous track, by means of a viaduct across the Potomac River, which has just been opened for the passage of locomotives and cars. Surveys have been made for the extension of the Winchester Rail-road as far as Staunton, which when completed will form a rail-road route from Baltimore, of two hundred and fifteen miles in length. Surveys have been industriously prosecuted, within the last two years, for the extension of the Baltimore and Ohio rail-road, along the valley of the Potomac, in conjunction with the canal, and to the summit of the Alleghany Mountains, with a view of continuing them thence to both Pittsburgh and Wheeling. The engineers report with confidence, that the mountains between Cumberland and the Western waters can be passed, without the use of stationary power, by locomotive engines and their trains. The company has obtained, by virtue of acts of the legislature of Maryland and of the city council of Baltimore, subscriptions to their stock, to the amount of three millions of dollars on account of the State, and an equal sum on account of the city. With these liberal additions to their capital stock, and with such aid as may be anticipated from the citizens of Pittsburgh and Wheeling, there is reason to believe that ample means will be provided for the completion of the enterprise. No definite location of the route has been made, and consequently neither its length has been ascertained, nor its cost accurately estimated. The completion of the road is a very important end to be attained, not only to the individual stockholders, but

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to the city of Baltimore and the State; for they are deeply interested in the income of the road, and in the effects it is expected to produce on the business of the city and State. The work, as it is at present situated, is but an insignificant fragment of the whole, and it must remain, until finished, comparatively unproductive. Unlike the first western line heretofore described, it passes through no dense population which can give it an adequate support, independently of that on which it will ultimately rest, the traffic and population of the western country.

Another Trans-Alleghanic rail-road is projected in Virginia. It has two terminations on the Atlantic, one at Richmond, and the other at Norfolk. From these, two lines proceed, one towards the sources of the James River, by way of Farmville and Lynchburgh, and the other by the valley of the Roanoke. The last-named branch is to consist of the Portsmouth and Roanoke Rail-road, already described, the Greensville and Roanoke Rail-road, extending to Danville, a distance of one hundred and seventy-two miles, and the Danville and Junction Rail-road to Evansham, one hundred and thirty-seven miles in length. At some point between Danville and Evansham the two lines will probably unite, and will proceed to near the source of the Holston River, and, pursuing the channel of this stream to near the southwestern corner of the State, will pass into Tennessee, and terminate on the navigable waters of Tennessee River. From Lynchburgh, across the Blue Ridge, the Alleghany Ridge, and the ridge between New River and the Holston, two surveys have been made, by direction of the Lynchburgh and Tennessee Rail-road Company, and the cost is estimated at $14,000 a mile. A survey of the other route has been made, and the cost of the two roads, from the termination of the Portsmouth and Roanoke road, to Evansham, is estimated at $5,254,000. Both routes are pronounced by the engineers practicable for locomotive engines. The legislature of Virginia has granted to the James River and Roanoke Company the right to construct a rail-road from Richmond to Lynchburgh; and that company has voted to construct it, as soon as the Lynchburgh and Tennessee Rail-road shall have been commenced, and has instructed the directors, in that event, to open books of subscription for the necessary stock. It is anticipated that the Lynchburgh and Tennessee Rail-road will unite, near its south-

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western termination with the Charleston and Cincinnati Rail-road, and thus enable the State of Virginia to share in the benefits of that great work. It is proposed also that it shall unite with the line of steam navigation on the Tennessee River, which, with the exception of the interruption by the Muscle Shoals, extends to the Mississippi. To supply the chasm in the line of communication, occasioned by the interruption of navigation at these shoals, a rail-road was constructed and put in operation two years ago by a company formed under a charter from the legislature of Alabama. This was the first rail-road, with the exception of one near New Orleans, in the Western States. It extends from Tuscumbia, a port situated below the Muscle Shoals, to Courtland, and thence to Decatur, at a part of the river above the Shoals, the length of road being forty-three miles. A project has been discussed in Tennessee, and countenanced by a convention of delegates held at Nashville, for establishing a central rail-road, leading through the State from the Virginia line, to the Mississippi River; but no definitive measures have been taken for carrying it into effect.

In a similar spirit of local patriotism, and with an ardent desire for improving the condition of their State, the people of North Carolina have projected a line of rail-roads, to be connected with the roads from Edenton and Beaufort, from Wilmington, and from Halifax and Raleigh, at Fayetteville, and to proceed thence in a northwesterly direction, by the Yadkin River, to unite with the Charleston and Cincinnati Rail-road, near the northwestern angle of the State. All these roads are projected by private companies incorporated by the State. By a late act of the legislature, the chief part of the surplus of United States revenue which falls to that State is appropriated to a fund for internal improvements, and the commissioners of the fund are instructed to subscribe to the stock of these companies, to the amount of two fifths of their respective capitals, provided the other three fifths shall be subscribed by responsible persons; no payment to be made on the part of the State, until a quarter part of the stock subscribed by individuals shall have been paid in. In all the lower parts of the State the face of the country is remarkably adapted to the favorable location of the respective routes, and for the cheap grading of the roads. In the northwest the route has not been fully surveyed.

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We come next to the grand Charleston and Cincinnati Rail-road. This is one of the boldest projects of modern times, and it has been engaged in by the people of Charleston and of South Carolina, with an ardor which shows a determination to carry it into effect. It is magnificent in its extent, and, independently of its magnitude, it will be attended with difficulties in the execution, which will require the exertion of great skill and energy, and a very great expenditure of money. We are far, however, from supposing the enterprise in its nature impracticable, or that it is likely to fail from any cause, unless it be from the failure of the necessary means. Even these can hardly fail, if the other States interested in its success imitate the example of South Carolina, and contribute their fair proportion to the expenses of the undertaking. A company has been formed, and incorporated by joint acts of the legislatures of the four States through which the route passes, viz. North and South Carolina, Tennessee, and Kentucky, with all the powers necessary for accomplishing the work. The capital is $12,000,000, and by a supplementary charter, the company is authorized to raise an additional capital, to be employed in banking, not to exceed at any time the amount actually raised for the road. The route is definitively established so far as to adopt the valley of the French Broad River, in North Carolina and Tennessee, as a part of it. This valley presents a most remarkable pass through the mountain, for a great extent. The head waters of this stream rise in an extensive plain on the Blue Ridge, from which there is a descent for sixty miles, in the direction best suited for the rail-road, not exceeding an average of thirteen feet in a mile, and not exceeding forty-five feet in any mile, and with no curvatures, but such as locomotives and their trains may pass without difficulty. Other parts of the route are no further definitively settled than that it shall pass through Columbia in South Carolina, Knoxville in Tennessee, and Lexington in Kentucky. Surveys have been made, which enable Governor Hayne, the president of the company, to state, "that the proposed route is entirely practicable, and may certainly be constructed across the mountains, with an ascent at the maximum of not more than sixty feet in any one mile, and without a single inclined plane, or stationary engine." The distance will be from six to seven hundred miles. It will probably pursue the route, from Charleston to

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Columbia, selected by the South Carolina Canal and Rail-road Company, on which they have already constructed a rail-road half the distance, with a single track. A negotiation has been opened between the two companies for settling the terms, by which a junction shall be formed between the two roads. The amount of capital stock already subscribed is $4,333,000, of which $3,525,000 are subscribed in South Carolina. On this stock $216,660 have been already paid in. Measures are taken for an immediate prosecution of the surveys, and for the advancement of the work as expeditiously as possible.

The State of Georgia has undertaken a series of rail-road improvements, traversing the whole length of that great State, from the eastern parts to the Chatahouchee River, and the Tennessee line, hardly less extensive than those of South Carolina. The policy of this State seems to have been, to grant to private corporations the right of constructing rail-roads in the eastern, more settled, and less expensive parts of the State, with such encouragements as are necessary to enable them to proceed with these works, and to undertake, on account of the State, such works in the newly-settled and more difficult parts of its territory, as are necessary for extending the lines of communication, until they shall meet others beyond the limits of the State. The legislature accordingly, at its last session, passed an act directing that "a rail-road communication as a State work and with the funds of the State, shall be made from some point on the Tennessee line near the Tennessee River, commencing at or near Rossville, in the most direct and practicable route, to some point on the southeastern branch of the Chatahouchee River, which shall be most eligible for an extension of branch rail-roads, thence to Athens, Madison, Milledgeville, Forsyth, and Columbus, and to any points which may be designated by the engineer or engineers surveying the same, as most proper and practicable, and on which the legislature may hereafter determine." The act further provides that no more than $350,000 annually shall be appropriated to the prosecution of this work, unless a future legislature shall otherwise direct. It also provides that the governor shall forthwith appoint an engineer, with such assistants as shall be necessary to accomplish speedily and effectually the proper surveys and estimates, and appropriates sixty thousand dollars for the payment of salaries and expenses. The governor, in pursuance of the authority given him, has already appointed a

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chief engineer, and evinced his determination to prosecute the work with all practicable expedition. In the mean time, the works of private companies are advancing, with various degrees of energy, to meet the points indicated in the acts above cited. The Georgia Rail-road and Banking Company has begun its line of rail-road at the city of Augusta, with what is called the Union Rail-road, extending westward from that city. A distance of seventy-six miles is under contract for the grading, besides a branch of seven miles in length to Greensborough, and part of a branch to Athens. Fifty miles on the line from Augusta are ready for laying the rails, and the iron is ready at Augusta and Savannah. In a similar spirit, though not so much in advance, the Central Rail-road and Banking Company are prosecuting their work, to connect the city of Savannah with another of the points named for the termination of the State work, near the town of Macon. The selection of the line of the State work is made with special reference to its connexion with a system of works in Tennessee. It is to terminate on the Tennessee line, five miles from Ross's Landing, on the Mississippi River, to which point it will be extended by the Hiwassee Rail-road Company, incorporated in Tennessee, already organized, and waiting only for the movements of Georgia. It will thus have access, through the navigation of the Tennessee River and its tributaries, to the trade of East Tennessee, and a part of North Carolina and Western Virginia, and to the Charleston and Cincinnati Rail-road, the right of doing which is reserved by the legislature of Tennessee, in its act of concurrence in the incorporation of the company for establishing that road.

These are the great lines of rail-road communication which are projected, and most of which are in active progress, for uniting the East and the West, for traversing that supposed eternal barrier, by which nature had separated them, and bringing the commerce of the Mississippi valley, in direct lines, to the shores of the Atlantic. Two others are projected, to unite the ports of the Atlantic with those of the Gulf of Mexico, one leading from Brunswick, in Georgia, to the Appalachicola River, and the other from Jacksonville, on the St. Johns, to St. Marks. The latter, called the East Florida Rail-road, is actually located, in nearly a direct line, over a level country, the distance being a hundred and sixty miles.

We must defer to another occasion some notice of the ex-

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tensive works which are projected and in progress for extending the intercourse between the Western States, and of some of the almost innumerable works which occupy the attention of the people of nearly every State. We cannot close this notice, without offering our testimony to the very creditable manner in which M. Poussin has executed this first History of the Rail-roads of America. It embraces not only the history, but a full and satisfactory description, evidently founded on the most authentic documents, of the principal works which form the subject of his volume. We hope that he will follow up the progress of these improvements, and thus furnish not only to France and Europe, but to our own countrymen, the best evidences of American perseverance and enterprise.

ART. VII. — *The Great Metropolis.* By the Author of "Random Recollections of the Lords and Commons." 2 vols. 12mo. New York; Saunders and Otley. 1837.

"ANY amusement which is innocent," says Paley, "is better than none; as the writing of a book, the building of a house, the laying out of a garden, the digging of a fish-pond, even the raising of a cucumber." If these are all the pastimes which the author of "The Great Metropolis" has within his reach, our opinion is, that, when he is next in want of innocent amusement, he had better raise a cucumber. His "Random Recollections" we have never seen. We rest our opinion on the book before us. There is a coarseness and vulgarity in its style, which is repulsive. No strength; no dignity; no grace; no refinement. In a word, the book has very bad manners. In reading it, you feel that you are walking through London, with a man who wears a "shocking bad hat"; and when your walk is at an end, though you cannot but thank him for the information he has given you, nevertheless you commend him in future to the raising of cucumbers, or the digging of fish-ponds; for you see, that he is "of the earth, earthy."

To us, however, the title of the book is attractive. We have an affection for a great city. We feel safe in the neighbourhood of man, and enjoy "the sweet security of streets."

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The excitement of the crowd is pleasant to us. We find sermons in the stones of side-walks. In the continuous sound of voices, and wheels, and footsteps, we hear "the sad music of humanity." We feel that life is not a dream, but an earnest reality; that the beings around us are not the insects of a day, but the pilgrims of an eternity; they are our fellow-creatures, each with his history of thousandfold occurrences, insignificant it may be to us, but all-important to himself; each with a human heart, whose fibres are woven into the great web of human sympathies; and none so small, that, when he dies, some of the mysterious meshes are not broken. The green earth, and the air, and the sea, all living and all lifeless things, preach unto us the gospel of a great and good providence; but most of all does man, in his crowded cities, and in his manifold powers, and wants, and passions, and deeds, preach this same gospel. He is the great evangelist. And though oftentimes, unconscious of his mission, or reluctant to fulfil it, he leads others astray, even then to the thoughtful mind he preaches. We are in love with Nature, and most of all with human nature. The face of man is a benediction to us. The greatest works of his handicraft delight us hardly less than the greatest works of Nature. They are "the masterpieces of her own masterpiece." Architecture, and painting, and sculpture, and music, and epic poems, and all the forms of art, wherein the hand of genius is visible, please us evermore, for they conduct us into the fellowship of great minds. And thus our sympathies are with men, and streets, and city-gates, and towers from which the great bells sound solemnly and slow, and cathedral doors, where venerable statues, holding books in their hands, look down like sentinels upon the church-going multitude, and the birds of the air come and build their nests in the arms of saints and apostles. And more than all this, in great cities we learn to look the world in the face. We shake hands with stern realities. We see ourselves in others. We become acquainted with the motley, many-sided life of man; and finally learn, if we are wise, to "look upon a metropolis as a collection of villages; a village as some blind alley in a metropolis; fame as the talk of neighbours at the street door; a library as a learned conversation; joy as a second; sorrow as a minute; life as a day; and three things as all in all, God, Creation, Virtue."*

* Jean Paul.

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Now of all cities is London the monarch. To us likewise is it the Great Metropolis. We are not cockneys. We were born on this side of the sea. Our family name is not recorded in the Domesday Book. It is doubtful whether our ancestral tree was planted so far back as the Conquest. Nor are we what Sir Philip Sidney calls "wry-transformed travellers." We do not affect a foreign air, nor resemble the merry Friar in the Canterbury Tales, of whom the Prologue says;

> "Somewhat he lisped for his wantonnesse,
> To make his English sweet upon his tongue."

Nevertheless to us likewise is London the monarch of cities. The fact, that the English language is spoken in some parts of it, makes us feel at home there, and gives us, as it were, the freedom of the city. Even the associations of childhood connect us with it. We remember it as far back as the happy days, when we loved nursery songs, and "rode a-horseback on best father's knee." Whittington and his cat lived there. All our picture-books and our sister's dolls came from there; and we thought, poor children! that everybody in London sold dolls and picture-books, as the country boy imagined that everybody in Boston sold gingerbread, because his father always brought some home from town on market days. Since those times we have grown wiser. We have been in Saint Paul's church-yard, and know by heart all the green parks and quiet squares of London. And now, finally, for us, grown-up children, appears the New London Cries, this book of The Great Metropolis.

Forty-five miles westward from the North Sea, in the lap of a broad and pleasant valley watered by the Thames, stands the Great Metropolis, as all the world knows. It comprises the City of London and its Liberties, with the City and Liberties of Westminster, the Borough of Southwark, and upwards of thirty of the contiguous villages of Middlesex and Surry. East and west, its greatest length is about eight miles; north and south, its greatest breadth about five: its circumference from twenty to thirty. Its population is estimated at two millions. The vast living tide goes thundering through its ten thousand streets in one unbroken roar. The noise of the great thoroughfares is deafening. But you step aside into a by-lane, and anon you emerge into little green squares half filled with sunshine, half with shade, where no sound of living thing is heard, save the voice of a bird or a child, and amid

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solitude and silence you gaze in wonder at the great trees "growing in the heart of a brick-and-mortar wilderness." Then there are the three parks, Hyde, Regent's, and St. James's, where you may lose yourself in green alleys, and dream you are in the country; Westminster Abbey, with its tombs and solemn cloisters, where with the quaint George Herbert you may think, that "when the bells do chime, 't is angels' music"; and high above all, half hidden in smoke and vapor, rises the dome of St. Paul's.

These are a few of the more striking features of London. More striking still is the Thames. Above the town, by Richmond Hill and Twickenham, it winds through groves and meadows green, a rural silver stream. The traveller who sees it here for the first time, can hardly believe, that this is the mighty river which bathes the feet of London. He asks perhaps the coachman, what stream that is; and the coachman answers with a stare of wonder and pity, "The *Tems*, sir." Pleasure boats are gliding back and forth, and stately swans float, like water-lilies, on its bosom. On its banks are villages, and church-towers, beneath which, among the patriarchs of the hamlet, lie many gifted sons of song,

"In sepulchres unhearsed and green."

In and below London the whole scene is changed. Let us view it by night. Lamps are gleaming along shore, and on the bridges, and a full moon rising over the Borough of Southwark. The moonbeams silver the rippling, yellow tide, wherein also flare the shore lamps, with a lambent, flickering gleam. Barges and wherries move to and fro; and heavy-laden luggers are sweeping up stream with the rising tide, swinging sideways, with loose, flapping sails. Both sides of the river are crowded with sea and river craft, whose black hulks lie in shadow, and whose tapering masts rise up into the moonlight like a leafless forest. A distant sound of music floats on the air; a harp, and a flute, and a horn. It has an unearthly sound; and lo! like a shooting star, a light comes gliding on. It is the signal lamp at the mast-head of a steam-vessel, that flits by, like a cloud above which glides a star. And from all this scene goes up a sound of human voices, — curses, laughter, and singing, — mingled with the monotonous roar of the city, "the clashing and careering streams of life, hurrying to lose themselves in the impervious gloom of eternity." And now the midnight is past, and amid the general silence the

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clock strikes — one, two. Far distant, from some belfry in the suburbs, comes the first sound, so indistinct as hardly to be distinguished from the crowing of a cock. Then close at hand the great bell of St. Paul's, with a heavy, solemn sound — one, two. It is answered from Southwark; then at a distance like an echo; and then all around you, with various and intermingling clang, like a chime of bells, the clocks from a hundred belfries strike the hour. But the moon is already sinking, large and fiery, through the vapors of morning. It is just in the range of the chimneys and house-tops, and seems to follow you with speed, as you float down the river, between unbroken ranks of ships. Day is dawning in the east, not with a pale streak in the horizon, but with a silver light spread through the sky, almost to the zenith. It is the mingling of moonlight and daylight. The water is tinged with a green hue, melting into purple and gold, like the brilliant scales of a fish. The air grows cool. It comes fresh from the eastern sea, toward which we are swiftly gliding; and dimly seen in the uncertain twilight, behind you rises

> "A mighty mass of brick, and smoke, and shipping,
> Dirty and dusky, but as wide as eye
> Can reach; with here and there a sail just skipping
> In sight, then lost amid the forestry
> Of masts; a wilderness of steeples peeping
> On tip-toe, through their sea-coal canopy;
> A huge dun cupola, like a foolscap crown
> On a fool's head, — and there is London town.*

But let us return to "The Great Metropolis." The first chapter of the first volume is devoted to General Characteristics. In the second the Theatres are described, and we are told all that Mr. Bunn was, did, and suffered, in the histrionic art. We leave him to his fate, and pass on to chapter third, which treats of the Clubs. Here we pause; for the Clubs of London seem to be alike interesting to strangers and to the inhabitants of the metropolis. Nearly every man of note in London belongs to one or more of them. They are central points in society, where a constant interchange of opinion is going on, and every topic of interest is discussed. The clubs are of two kinds. The subscription clubs are those, in which some individual engages to furnish the members with certain conveniences, on the payment of a specified sum as entrance money, and a stated annual subscription. In the other clubs, a number of gentle-

* Don Juan, Canto X.

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men unite together, build or rent a house, engage their servants, and are thus furnished with all articles of food and drink, at the market prices.

The Club-houses are for the most part elegant establishments. The finest buildings in Regent Street belong to the clubs. Reading-rooms, dining-rooms, library and parlours, are all furnished with elegance; and there is an air of comfort and gentility about them, which is very attractive. The Clubs, too, are very numerous; and have on an average a thousand members each. The principal are Brookes's; White's; Boodle's; The Carlton; The Reform Club; The Athenæum; The Clarence; The Oxford and Cambridge University Club; The United University Club; The Oriental; The Traveller's; The United Service, and the Junior United Service. But we will let our author speak for himself.

"The ATHENÆUM CLUB, corner of Pall Mall, is one of the best known institutions in the metropolis. The number of members is about 1,300. The terms of admission are twenty guineas, and six guineas for the yearly subscription. The club was 'instituted for the association of individuals, known for their scientific or literary attainments, artists of eminence in any class of the fine arts, and noblemen and gentlemen distinguished as liberal patrons of science, literature, or the arts.' Such are the words made use of in describing the objects of the institution, by those with whom it had its origin. The qualification of admission consists, of course, in the party's coming under either of the above designations. With the view of securing the annual introduction into the club of a certain number of persons of distinguished eminence in science, literature, or the arts, the committee are vested with the power of electing nine such persons every year. Those who put down their names in the list of candidates are balloted for by the members the same as in other clubs. To get admitted into the Athenæum is considered a great honor, owing partly to the constitution of the club, and partly to the great difficulty of obtaining admission. Of late the members have got what Sir Francis Burdett would call a 'nasty trick' of blackballing the candidates. It is computed that, for some time past, nine out of every ten candidates have been blackballed. Six members only have been elected during the present year. They are all, however, men of more or less distinction. Their names are the Right Hon. James Abercromby, Speaker of the House of Commons; Mr. John Macniel, minister plenipotentiary to the Court of Persia, and author of 'Researches in the East'; Mr. J. G. Wilkinson, author of a work on 'Thebes,'

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and another on the 'Domestic Manners of the Egyptians,' &c.; Captain Back, author of the 'Voyage to the Arctic Regions'; Mr. William Thomas Braude, professor of chemistry; and Mr. Charles Barry, the architect, whose plan for the two Houses of Parliament has been adopted.

"The house in which the Athenæum Club meet, was built some six or seven years ago. The expense of the edifice alone was 35,000*l.*, while nearly 5,000*l.* more were required for furnishing it; it is a very large and elegant building. The interior is unusually splendid. I went through it with Mr. Galt, two or three years ago,—the last time, I believe, he ever was in it. Nothing could exceed the taste and judgment with which the whole of the interior was laid out. Some idea will be formed of the way in which it is fitted up, when I mention that, in addition to 5,000*l.* for furniture, the plate, linen, china, glass, and cutlery cost 2,500*l.* The library alone is valued at 4,000*l.*, and the stock of wine which is kept in the cellars, is supposed to be worth on an average from 3,500*l.* to 4,000*l.* After making every deduction for tear and wear, the property of the club, including, of course, the house, is valued at 47,000*l.*, while the amount of its debts is only about 13,500*l.*, 12,000*l.* of the sum being borrowed from the Phœnix Fire Office, at 4 per cent., and the remaining 1,500*l.* consisting of the claims of tradesmen. The club has thus a virtual balance in its favor of about 33,500*l.*

"The trustees of the Athenæum Club are the Earl of Aberdeen, Sir Martin Archer Shee, Lord Yarborough, Mr. John Wilson Croker, and Mr. Gilbert Davies. The yearly income of the club is 9,000*l.*; and the expenditure is about the same."—Vol. I. pp. 123–126.

One extract more will give our readers a sufficiently clear view of this part of the Great Metropolis.

"The United Service Club, Pall Mall, is one of the most flourishing institutions of the kind in town. The class of members of whom it is composed will be at once inferred from its designation. The qualification for admission is the having attained to a certain *status* in either service. The house is a very handsome one externally, and is splendidly furnished and fitted up in the interior. Including the furniture, plate, &c., the house has cost little short of 30,000*l.* Of course the club was obliged to borrow a large sum of money before they could proceed with such an undertaking. Of the sum so borrowed, about 18,000*l.* is still owing. The club, however, is in a fair way of liquidating their debt. Last year they reduced the account by

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1,440*l.*; while Admiral Stopford, the Chairman of the Committee of Management, is confident, that the balance of money the club will have at their disposal, after meeting the current expenses, will, in round numbers, be 1,500*l.* The estimated receipts for the present year are nearly 10,500*l.*, while it is calculated that the expenditure will be under 9,000*l.* The United Service Club boasts of a greater number of members, with one or two exceptions, than any other similar institution in the metropolis. The number is about 1,550. The entrance-money is unusually high, being thirty pounds. The annual subscription is six guineas. Notwithstanding the amount of the entrance-money, there are always a great many more candidates for admission than can be accepted. In one very important point, the United Service Club has a superiority over all the rest: it has the best cellar. According to the last estimate, the stock of wine is worth 7,722*l.* This looks well. A cellar so amply replenished must be no small recommendation to the club. It goes far to account for the extraordinary anxiety manifested by certain gentlemen to be admitted as members.

"The JUNIOR UNITED SERVICE CLUB, Charles Street, St. James's Square, is limited, as the name implies, to the members of the two services. By one of the rules of the club the number of persons to be admitted is restricted to 1,500 effective members. Beside these, however, there are usually about 300 supernumeraries. To procure admission to this club is extremely difficult, in consequence of the number of candidates at all times on the list. The number of candidates at present is not much under 2,000. It sometimes happens that gentlemen will be on the list for ten or twelve years before they are admitted. The qualifications for admission are, having been an officer in either service, or taking an appointment in the military department, at home or abroad, corresponding in rank with the commissioned officers of the army; being a captain, or lieutenant of the naval service of the East India Company, or a captain of a regular Indiaman; being a lord lieutenant in Great Britain, or governor of a county in Ireland. Persons who may have retired from the services are also eligible. So are midshipmen and assistant surgeons; but he who belongs to either of the latter classes is considered a fortunate man, who, of late, has found a sufficient number of white balls to open the doors of the club to him. The patrons of the Junior United Service are, the Duke of Wellington, the Marquis of Anglesey, Earl Rosslyn, Lord Hill, Sir George Cockburn, and Sir Herbert Taylor. Among the trustees, there are no gentlemen of any great distinction. Their names are, Sir J. P. Beresford, Bart., Sir John Elly, Sir James Cockburn, Bart.,

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Sir Archibald Christie, Lieutenant-Colonel G. Althorpe, and Lieutenant-Colonel John Mills." — Vol. i. pp. 141 – 144.

The next chapter treats of the London Gaming Houses. Here our author gets upon his high horse. We have seldom met with a writer whose imagination was so fond of gold leaf and gingerbread ; seldom with such a gaping, wide-mouthed, Johnny-Raw description, as he gives of Old Crocky's. The great wonder and "contentation" of Simon's wife of Southampton, when she beheld for the first time the goldsmiths' shops in Cheapside and "the mighty weather-cock of clean silver" on St. Paul's steeple, were nothing to those of our author, when he first saw the interior of Old Crocky's. Our own admiration we express in italics.

"No one, I believe, not even those accustomed to visit the mansions of the aristocracy, ever entered the saloon for the first time, *without being dazzled by the splendor which surrounded him!* A friend and myself lately went throughout the whole of it ; *and for some moments, on entering the saloon, we stood confounded by the scene!!* It is a large, spacious room, from fifty to sixty feet in length, and from twenty to twenty-five in breadth. On each side are two mirrors *in magnificent frames.* The plate alone of each of the four cost nearly one hundred guineas. From a glance of the eye, I should take their dimensions to be about sixteen feet by eight. The walls and ceiling of the saloon are most richly ornamented by carved work, *beautifully gilt. The bottoms of the chairs are all stuffed with down, while the carpenter part of the work is of that unique description which renders it impossible for me to describe it!* The principal table has the appearance of being cut out of a solid piece of wood : a piece of more richly carved work, *all gilt except the top or surface,* I have never seen. *The chandeliers are magnificent, and when lighted up with sperm oil, the only thing used, they produce an effect of which it is impossible to convey an idea!!!* On the left hand, as you enter the saloon, is the card-room ; much smaller, but also splendidly fitted up. On the right hand, at the opposite or St. James's end of the saloon, is the hazard-room, with all the paraphernalia of gaming. It is not large, being only about twenty feet in length by fourteen in breadth. There is admission to the hazard-room from the saloon by a large door, which in its massy appearance and the hardness of the wood of which it is made, reminded me of that of a prison ; *it is also a piece of superior workmanship, with the ornamented part of it richly gilt!!!*" — Vol. i. pp. 160, 161.

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This is Crockford's Club House, the largest gaming establishment in London; situate in St. James's, a few steps from Piccadilly. The house was built in 1825, and cost with its furniture not far from 100,000*l.* The cellar is 285 feet long, and contains 300,000 bottles of wine, besides "innumearble hogsheads"; all valued at 70,000*l.* Thirty-three servants in livery do their masters' bidding, and that of the seven hundred and fifty subscribers; for Crockford's is a subscription club. "Monsieur Oude" (Ude, we suppose) is chief cook, with a salary of a thousand guineas per annum. The under cook has five hundred. "Superb suppers" are given gratis; and it delighteth the heart of Old Crocky to know that people devour his viands and quaff his exquisite wines. He believes in the old Dutch proverb;

> "Whene'er the wine is in the man,
> Then is the wisdom in the can."

He was formerly a fishmonger; and our author, who has followed him *à la piste* from Temple Bar to St. James's, informs us that he still delights in the lowland accent of Billingsgate. He is what they call in London "a good man"; that is, he is worth 300,000*l.* He is known to have cleared, in one year alone, the sum of 100,000*l.* He seems, also, to aim at the character of a pious man; for his house is invariably shut at twelve o'clock on Saturday night, and not opened again till after twelve on Sunday night. On one occasion, so great was his zeal for good morals, and a strict observance of the Sabbath, that he refused to let a gentleman take home a pack of cards on Sunday. One short extract more, and we have done with the reptile, and his "spiders."

"The hour at which the hazard room is thrown open is eleven o'clock, and the dice are in immediate requisition. Mr. Crockford himself at that moment takes his station in a corner of the room, before a little desk: from that he never stirs until the playing is over. He acts on such occasions as his own clerk. No person belonging to the establishment is allowed, in any circumstances, or under any pretext, to enter the room while the gamblers are at work. There is a Mr. Page, who acts as 'inspector,' or groom-porter, while the games are going on in the hazard room; but he is in the confidence of most of the noblemen and gentlemen who frequent that part of the house; and though paid for his services, — some say at the princely rate of fifty guineas per week, — he can hardly be said to be one of Mr. Crockford's servants.

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"The inspector, or groom-porter, or overlooker, — for he sometimes goes by one name, and sometimes by another, — sits on an elevated chair at the centre of the table, facing Mr. Crockford, and looks like a little king on his throne. With a small piece of stick, forming a miniature representation of a hay-rake, he pulls to him the money, which some one, acting for Mr. Crockford, has won; or pushes it towards any other party who may have been successful in the game. He also audibly declares the result of the game. In short, he is a sort of master of the ceremonies, taking always care that the dice be not allowed to be idle.

"Beside Mr. Crockford is 'the bank,' which every poor simpleton is made believe, by those 'knowing ones' who decoy him in, that he will be fortunate enough to break before he rises from his seat, but to whose stability he finds, before he quits the house, *he has essentially contributed.*

"I have mentioned that the hour for throwing open the hazard room is eleven o'clock. Persons are allowed to enter the house until two in the morning, and may commence playing at any time until then. The doors are all then shut; but though no one is admitted after that hour, those who have been previously in the house are not obliged to leave it. They are allowed to remain as long as they please; and many of them do remain till four or five o'clock. It was only in the beginning of August last, that some parties were so completely spell-bound by the game at which they had been playing, that they never rose off their seats from the time they sat down at eleven or twelve at night, until eight in the morning. * * * * *

"In Crockford's, very large sums are played for with the cards; but it is at the hazard table, when the game is French hazard, that the work of plunder is carried on on the most extensive scale. There, to use gambling phraseology, the 'pigeon is plucked.' And to get the flat prevailed on to throw down the cards, and repair to the hazard room, is the great, though concealed object of those in the interest of the house. A few hours, most probably, will do the work in the latter place. The stakes are usually high: he loses, perhaps, a fourth part of his fortune in less than an hour: he 'tables' another fourth, — he loses again. He becomes desperate: in the delirium, or madness (for that is the proper word) of the moment, he determines on risking his all at one throw. The dice turn up, — his all is lost: he who a few hours before was a rich man, is now a beggar. The sums which young thoughtless noblemen lose at Crockford's in one night, are sometimes incredibly large. Seven years ago one pigeon was plucked, in a few hours, to the tune of 60,000*l.*, — the stakes were 10,000*l.* It is only three years since Lord

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C———, the grandson of an aged noble Earl, lost 30,000*l.* in one night. The winner was a noble Marquis, of sporting notoriety, who, according to report, was at that time, if not now, a part proprietor of the establishment. Losses of 5,000*l.*, 7,000*l.*, and 10,000*l.*, in one night, are by no means uncommon when a rich flat is caught." — Vol. i. pp. 168 – 171.

The next three chapters are devoted to Metropolitan Society; the higher, middle, and lower classes being separately considered. The chapter on the Aristocracy is filled with such gossip as you might hear in an ale-house or a cider-cellar. It reminded us of the conversation of Lady Blarney and Miss Carolina Wilhelmina Skeggs, in "The Vicar of Wakefield"; and as we read it we imitated the very impolite conduct of Mr. Burchel, and at the conclusion of every sentence cried out *Fudge!* We have seldom met with so many pages of coarse and indiscriminate abuse. The most important information we gather from the whole chapter is, that Younger Sons are called *Detrimentals*, and that a certain noble lady once gave to Lord Henry Manning the expressive cognomen of the *Beetle-squasher*. Fudge!

The middle and lower classes fare hardly better at our author's hands. Conjugal infidelity is his *cheval de bataille*. On this topic he makes what he is pleased to call "some pointed observations." We confess we saw not their point. We have no appetite for such matters, and think the book would be vastly improved if the three chapters on Metropolitan Society were entirely omitted. If half what he says be true, then do we hold with the German, "*In London ist der Teufel los.*" The account he gives of the "gin-palaces," and the drunkenness of the lower classes, is appalling. It recalled a description in an old play of Beaumont and Fletcher;

> "There 's a dead-sea
> Of drink i' th' cellar, in which goodly vessels
> Lie wracked, and in the middle of this deluge
> Appear the tops of flagons and black-jacks
> Like churches drowned i' the marshes."

We now come to the second volume. It is devoted entirely to the Newspaper Press and Periodical Literature; and, so far as we can judge, is written throughout with great fairness and impartiality. In this part of his work the author is evidently at home. He is not obliged to gather his facts from fashionable novels, nor refer his readers to such sources of information as in his chapter on the Higher Classes.

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It seems, that at the commencement of the last century the English newspapers consisted of a single leaf of the quarto size, each page being divided into two columns. Reports of proceedings in Parliament, and in courts of law, and in public meetings, were unknown; and the columns twain of the newspapers were innocent of any original essays and disquisitions. A few paragraphs of general intelligence were furnished forth as the daily bread of the readers. The first original article, which ever appeared in an English newspaper, was from the pen of Dr. Johnson. It came out in 1758, in "The Universal Chronicle and Weekly Gazette," published by Mr. John Newberry of St. Paul's Churchyard; a gentleman of picture-book memory. The essays which Dr. Johnson furnished for this paper were afterward republished in "The Idler."

The number of the daily papers now issued in London, is eleven; that of the weekly, twenty-seven. The aggregate circulation of the former is about 40,000; that of the latter 120,000; making in all the enormous amount of 160,000. Of the eleven daily papers, seven are Liberal; the other four Conservative. The Liberal are, The Morning Chronicle, The Morning Advertiser, The Constitutional, The Globe, The Courier, The Sun, and the True Sun. The Conservative are, The Times, The Herald, The Post, and The Standard. Among the weekly papers there are eleven Liberal, viz. The Examiner, The Spectator, The Observer, Bell's Life in London, The Weekly Dispatch, Bell's New Weekly Messenger, The Atlas, The Satirist, The Weekly True Sun, The News, The Sunday Times, The Patriot, and The Christian Advocate. The Tory weekly papers are only seven in number; Bell's Weekly Messenger, The John Bull, The Age, The Weekly Post, The Watchman, The United Service Gazette, and The London Weekly Journal. The remainder are not political. The Weekly Dispatch has a circulation greater than that of all the Tory weeklies put together. During the last twenty years, some seventy or eighty attempts have been made to establish weekly papers, and all have proved unsuccessful, with the exception of six or seven. For example; in 1833 was established The New Weekly Dispatch. Ere long it fell into the doctor's hands, being bought up by "Universal-pill" Morrison for five pounds. Like the rest of his patients it soon died, after consuming an enormous quantity of pills; 3000*l.* being the loss sustained in

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about a twelve-month. The number of weekly papers is not so great as formerly, owing in part to the establishment of provincial papers all over the country. At least one hundred of these have sprung into existence within the last five years. The decrease of the weekly papers is, however, to be attributed mainly to the establishment of unstamped papers. Of these some 200,000 copies were at one period issued weekly. Not less than 50,000 copies of the Police Gazette were sold weekly for a considerable time; and of the Twopenny Dispatch 28,000. But let us go a little more into detail.

The morning papers are six in number. The labor and expense of conducting them is immense. At seven or eight o'clock in the evening the editor goes to his office. The night "brings back his day." For an hour or two he is busy in examining letters and communications, of which, in times of great public excitement, more than three hundred have been received at one office in one day; and from midnight far into the morning watches, his pen is racing over the sheet before him, with the speed of the wind. The expenses, too, of a morning paper are very great. On this point the author shall speak for himself.

"The daily expenses incurred by a morning paper, conducted with any degree of spirit, are enormous. To those unacquainted with them they must appear incredible. The sum weekly paid by the leading morning journals for the intellectual and manual labor expended on them, without regard to the price of stamps, the advertisement duties, &c., is from 250*l.* to 300*l.* The price paid by 'The Times,' which is greater than that of its cotemporaries, owing to the greater frequency of its double-sheet publications, is not much under the latter sum. No morning newspaper could pay its expenses, provided it had no advertisements, with a circulation under six or seven thousand. As few of the morning papers have so large a circulation as this, it is therefore clear that the advertisements are the great source of profit. When these are numerous, they are extremely profitable to the proprietors; for in London they are charged at a very high rate. The smallest, though consisting of only one line, is, in the front page, five shillings. The charge for one of a column in length would vary in different papers, — for the proprietors of the several journals have not a uniform scale of charges, — from fourteen to sixteen guineas. The price, if I remember rightly, which 'The Times' charged for the advertisement, in 1835, of the Conservative Electors of the City of London, which contained 5,000 or

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6,000 names adhibited to a petition to Parliament, was two hundred and fifty guineas. The advertisement, if my memory does not mislead me, filled about four pages of a double sheet. On some occasions 'The Times' double sheets contain between nine hundred and a thousand advertisements. The profits, then, from this source, must be enormous. Before the reduction of the advertisement duty, the yearly sum 'The Times' paid to government for advertisements alone, was not much under 20,000*l.* Its own statement of its contributions to the revenue in 1828, was as follows:

	£.	s.	d.
For stamps	48,516	13	4
For duties on advertisements . .	16,269	11	6
Excise on paper consumed . .	3,351	3	0
Making a total contribution to the revenue in one year of	£68,137	7	10

"I do not know of a more interesting scene than that which is to be seen in the office of a morning paper when all hands are at work. Notwithstanding the extent of the place, the variety of departments, and the number of persons employed, every thing not only proceeds with the regularity of clockwork, but the most perfect order prevails. Every one knows his own duty and cheerfully performs it, without interrupting or interfering with his neighbour in the discharge of his. There is no talking, nor any noise of any kind: every word that is spoken is in a suppressed whisper; and when any one has occasion to go from one part of the establishment to another, he treads the floor as softly as if he were afraid of the sound of his own feet. The profound stillness which prevails, is only broken by the gentle 'clicking' caused by the dropping of the types into the brass receptacles called composing-sticks, provided for them. I know of no other instance, that of a Quaker's meeting excepted, in which, where so great a number of persons are in the same place, so profound a silence reigns. I wish our legislators in the Lower House of Parliament would, in this respect, take an example from the compositors and other persons employed in getting up a morning paper. In that case their proceedings would be alike creditable to their own characters and beneficial to the country. As matters are at present managed in that assembly, it is a glaring and unpardonable perversion of language, to apply the term deliberative, either to themselves or their proceedings." — Vol. II. pp. 77 – 80.

Foremost among all newspapers both in London and else-

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where, stands THE TIMES, — the Jupiter Tonans of the press, — the Thunderer. It was established as long ago as 1788, but did not begin to take the lead among the English papers, till after the peace of 1815. Dr. Stoddard, now Sir John Stoddard, Governor of Malta, was for some years previous to this period its principal editor; and so great was the virulence of this gentleman's attacks on Napoleon, that the emperor (*credat Judæus*) thought of prosecuting him for a libel! The successor of Dr. Stoddard was Mr. Barnes, the present editor. His salary is supposed to be twelve hundred guineas. The proprietorship of the paper is divided into sixteen shares; the whole is valued at 250,000*l.*; and the annual profits are said to be between 20,000*l.* and 30,000*l.* Its circulation is estimated at 10,000 copies daily. The price of the paper is fivepence a number. Nearly one hundred individuals are directly and constantly employed upon it; and the number of compositors alone is between fifty and sixty. Including communications from correspondents, hardly a number appears, which does not contain a portion of the manual and intellectual labor of some hundred and fifty individuals. It was the first paper which employed a steam press;* it also set the example of giving occasionally a double sheet, which contains a quantity of matter equal to the contents of three octavo volumes; so that you get for fivepence as much printed matter as a publisher of novels gives you for a guinea and a half; — in quantity equal, in quality not inferior. The paper is in every one's hands. Not a club, that does not take it in; not a member of Parliament, who does not read it; it is found in every tap and ale-house, and under the sign of "Magnificent Gin, fit for Commodore or Lord High Admiral;" — so that wherever you go you hear a voice like that of the Fool in the Mad Lover, "O Tim, the Times! — the Times, Tim!" It was the bold champion of the late Queen Caroline, when the modern Henry the Eighth repudiated her. It is said that the question was regularly debated and decided by vote among the proprietors, whether their paper should support or oppose the Queen's

* "Before the introduction of steam power into the printing-offices of the daily papers, the proprietors were obliged to cause duplicates of each number to be 'set up,' in order to get the paper out in tolerable time; and even then, as the most active and powerful pressman could not throw off above 500 impressions in an hour, by means of his hand, the publication of part of the paper was always delayed to a late hour." — Vol. II. p. 26.

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cause; but their decision once made, they pleaded that cause with energy, perseverance, and final success. "The Times" was formerly Liberal; it is now Tory. It changed its politics at the downfall of the Melbourne administration in 1834. Every department is in the hands of a person well qualified to manage it. Beside the principal editor, there are "the gentlemen occasionally employed to write leaders, the sub-editor, the selector of articles of intelligence, and the person employed to make up the paper, as it is technically called; and all work as harmoniously together as if the entire contents were the work of one hand."

The other morning papers are, The Morning Herald, The Morning Chronicle, The Morning Post, The Morning Advertiser, The Public Ledger. The evening papers, to which, also, our author devotes an entire chapter, are, The Globe, The Courier, The Sun, and The True Sun. Our limits will not allow us to notice them. Even with the weekly papers we must make short work. The best known and most highly valued of them all is THE EXAMINER, edited by Mr. Albany Fonblanque, a writer of great power and brilliancy. It is Radical in its politics; and its circulation is not over 3,400, though it has been as large as 7,000. The paper of the largest circulation in London, and probably in the world, is THE WEEKLY DISPATCH. Of this paper upwards of 30,000 copies are regularly circulated, and of some particular numbers, with portraits of the King and Queen, 130,000 copies were sold. Its politics are Radical. — And here we must stop. Those of our readers who are curious upon this topic, we refer to the book itself. There they will find the most minute detail.

The next chapter contains an interesting account of Parliamentary Reporting. The number of reporters for the London newspapers is about eighty. Of these more than sixty are engaged for the morning papers, and the rest for the evening papers. Many of them have received a University education, and some belong to the learned professions. There are among them clergymen, physicians, surgeons, and barristers. Many persons, also, well known in the literary world, are or have been reporters. Among these we may mention Sir James Mackintosh, Allan Cunningham, Mr. Dickens, author of the "Pickwick Papers," and, foremost in the ranks, the great lexicographer, Dr. Johnson, who, in his

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reports, as he himself says, "took care that the Whig rascals should not have the best of the argument." And finally we would notice the name of Jack Finnarty, who deserves to be immortalized in Joe Miller for the following joke.

"About five-and-thirty years ago, when only one sentence of a speech was given, on an average, every five or six minutes, and when the reporters had to sit for many hours at a time, — they were often at a loss to know what to do with themselves. On one occasion, when laboring under an attack of *ennui*, and also under the effects of poteen, Jack Finnarty, a well-known reporter of that period, — yawned out, 'Mr. Speaker, will you favor us with a song?' A roar of laughter followed from all parts of the house. One of the officers immediately repaired to the gallery, and inquired who the offender was. Jack Finnarty, without opening his mouth, pointed to a Quaker, of very diminutive stature, who was sitting in the front seat. The officer immediately seized the unoffending little man by the breast of his collarless coat, and without condescending to give a why or wherefore, dragged him down stairs, and transferred him to the care of the sergeant-at-arms. The latter, after keeping him in safe custody during the night, and compelling him to pay nearly 30*l.* for his lodgings, set him at liberty on the following day." — Vol. II. p. 245.

The salaries of the reporters vary from three to five guineas a week. The majority of them are engaged by the year; though during the recess of Parliament their salaries are reduced. Some of them have followed this calling for many years. Three of the gentlemen, still employed, were reporters in the time of Fox, Sheridan, and Pitt; and one has attended every session of Parliament for more than thirty-four years. The business of reporting is carried on with great precision.

"Each reporter takes a turn of three quarters of an hour's duration. The moment his time has expired, he quits the gallery, his place being taken by another, walks down to the office of the paper for which he is engaged, where he extends his notes in a legible hand, and then transfers the manuscript, which is on small slips, written only on one side, — to the printer. The printer distributes the slips among the compositors. The writing only on one side facilitates the labor of the compositors, who, when five or six of them are employed on the same reporter's copy, always put his manuscript into types as fast as he can get

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it ready. When the reporter who succeeded the first gentleman has been on duty his three quarters of an hour, he is relieved by some of his colleagues, and he also goes directly to the office to write out his copy in a perfect hand. In this way the thing goes on alphabetically the whole night, until all the reporters on the different establishments have severally had their 'turns,' — unless the House should chance to rise before the number is exhausted. It is but very seldom that any of the reporters have two turns on the same night. They only have so, either when two or three of them are absent from ill-health, or on other business, or when both Houses sit for some considerable time. In that case the reporters severally extend the duration of their terms, in either House, to an hour, — otherwise they would be required to take a second turn before they had written out the first. This sometimes happens even with the hour turns. It so happens, either when the speaker or the subject has been so important as to render a copious report desirable; or when the reporter's notes, which is pretty often the case, are so confused as to prevent his reading them with ease.

"When a reporter begins extending his notes for the compositor, he writes at the commencement of his first slip his own name and the name of the colleague whom he succeeds, in this way, — 'Hammond follows Richards,' or whatever else the names of the parties chance to be. When he finishes his turn, he writes in the same way at the end of his slip the name of the gentleman who follows him, together with his own. The object of this is to enable the printer to arrange the copy given him by the various reporters in its proper order. But for this regulation, the speeches of the different members would be thrown into confusion, and awkward transpositions of the several parts of the same member's speech would also occasionally occur.

"When a reporter takes copious notes of any speech, it usually requires five times the time to extend those notes in a readable hand, which it occupied in taking them. Supposing, for instance, that a reporter has a turn of an hour, it will take fully five hours, hard incessant labor, to extend his notes for the printer. The notes which a good reporter will take in three-quarters of an hour, usually fill, when extended, about two columns of 'The Times.' In the case of Lord Stanley, and some other honorable members, who speak with much rapidity, the notes so taken would, when written out at full length, occupy two columns and a half of 'The Times.'

"Many of the reporters write with much rapidity. It is considered a great effort to write a column of 'The Times' in two hours and a half; but instances have been known of its being

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done in two hours. Mr. Serjeant Spankie was one of the most rapid writers ever known on the press. When a reporter on 'The Morning Chronicle,' in Mr. Perry's time, he, on one occasion, wrote a column in an hour. To be sure, the paper was then much smaller in size than it now is, and the type much larger than that now used; but the disproportion was not so great as not to entitle the effort of the learned gentleman to be regarded as the most successful one at rapid writing, with which I am acquainted. The next most successful, perhaps, was that of the late Mr. William Godwin, junior, who, when a reporter five or six years ago on 'The Morning Chronicle,' wrote a column of the then size of the paper, in an hour and three quarters. It is to be observed, that in the cases to which I refer, there was not only the mere manual exercise of writing, but also the reading of the notes." — Vol. II. pp. 221 – 224.

We now come to the Periodical Literature of London. And first, of the Quarterly Reviews, which are five in number. THE QUARTERLY REVIEW first appeared in 1809. The plan of this review originated with Mr. Gifford, who had brought himself into notice as a critic by his papers in "The Anti-Jacobin Review." In "The Quarterly" he proposed to raise up a rival and political opponent to "The Edinburgh Review," which was the organ of the Whig party. His first proposal was made to the publisher of "The Monthly Review," who thought so unfavorably of it, as to reject it at once. Mr. Gifford next applied to Mr. Murray, then a bookseller of no great note in Fleet Street. He undertook the work, and stipulated to pay Mr. Gifford as editor a salary of 200*l.* per annum. It was gradually increased to 900*l.* In a few years "The Quarterly" gained itself a distinguished name, and became in some measure the rival of "The Edinburgh," which then had a circulation of nearly twenty thousand copies. Among the earliest contributors to the pages of "The Quarterly" were Dr. Southey and Sir Walter Scott, who in one of the volumes of 1816 reviewed some of his own novels. Mr. Gifford continued as editor of the work till two years before his death, which took place in 1827. Its circulation was then about 7,000 copies. It is now 9,000. A few years afterwards Mr. Lockhart became editor. Who conducted the work in the interim, we know not. Our author says it was Dr. Southey. We believe it was Mr. Coleridge, junior. Mr. Lockhart's salary is stated at 1,400*l.* per annum. His prin-

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cipal coadjutors are said to be Mr. Milman, author of "Fazio" and "The Fall of Jerusalem"; Mr. Taylor, author of "Philip van Artevelde"; and Mr. Hayward, translator of the "Faust" into English prose. The rate of remuneration varies with the character of the article, and the reputation of the writer. The average payment is about twenty guineas for a sheet of sixteen pages. Dr. Southey has, however, received fifty guineas for an article of less than thirty pages. Of Mr. Lockhart's ability it would be superfluous to speak. As a critic he is merciless, and commits at times "most unrighteous slaughter" among authors and *authorlings*. We can say of him, as is said of Perez the Pounder, in the old Spanish Ballad, we "have seen some flail-armed man belabor barley so."

The Westminster Review was started in 1824 by Jeremy Bentham and other Utilitarians; among whom was the late Mr. James Mill, author of the "History of British India." Its political views from the outset were Radical. In 1831, its circulation had risen to nearly 3,000, and in one of the numbers of that year, a powerful article on the Vote by Ballot, written by Mr. Mill, produced a great sensation, and added several hundred names to the list of subscribers. Dr. Bowring was at that time editor, and, Jeremy Bentham being gathered to his fathers, the principal proprietor also, having received from the father of the "greatest happiness" principle, his share of the work. At the beginning of last year the Westminster was united with the London Review, which had been started about a twelve-month before. The work is now conducted under the title of "The London and Westminster Review," and has a circulation of about 1,500 copies. Mr. Thomas Falconer, a solicitor, is said to be the editor.

The Foreign Quarterly began its career in 1827, with Mr. Gillies and Mr. Fraser as editors, and such contributors as Sir Walter Scott, Dr. Southey, and Thomas Carlyle. Under such auspices, before a year was passed, it reached a circulation of more than 1,500 copies. Unfortunately a misunderstanding arose between Mr. Fraser and Mr. Cochrane, who was manager in the house of the publishers. The result was that Mr. Cochrane became editor of "The Foreign Quarterly," and Mr. Fraser established a new periodical in opposition, under the title of "The Foreign Review." Ten numbers only of this new review were published. Peace was then declared between it and its rival, and they were united in one

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under the old title, and the editorial department continued in the hands of Mr. Cochrane. In 1834, the publishers failed; and soon afterwards Mr. Cochrane, having a misunderstanding with the assignees of Richter & Co., threw up the editorship of the Review, and established another under the title of "Cochrane's Foreign Quarterly Review." It lived six months. Who is at present the editor of "The Foreign Quarterly," is not generally known. Its plan is excellent; and from the beginning it has been conducted with great ability. Its pages contain valuable papers on the literature of all nations, and much literary intelligence from the four corners of the earth. It takes little part in politics.

Two new Quarterly Reviews have recently been established in London. The first is, THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN REVIEW. It was established in 1835 by Mr. Beaumont, a member of Parliament from Northumberland, whose main object is said to have been that of advocating the cause of Poland against its oppressors. The first editor was Mr. Young, a member of the bar. The present editor is Mr. John Kemble, the Anglo-Saxon scholar. Articles have been written by Lord Brougham, Mr. Talfourd, and Mr. Shiel. Its politics are Liberal. The second is THE DUBLIN REVIEW. It began its career in April, 1836, and was established mainly for the purpose of advocating Roman Catholic principles. O'Connel is one of its editors; therefore we need not say what its political principles are.

The Monthly Periodicals of London are thirteen in number. They are; The Gentleman's Magazine, The Monthly Review, The Monthly Magazine, The Eclectic Review, The New Monthly Magazine, Fraser's Magazine, The Metropolitan Magazine, The Monthly Repository, The Lady's Magazine, The Court Magazine, The Asiatic Journal, Alexander's East India Magazine, and The United Service Journal.

THE GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE is more than a hundred years old. It was established in 1733; and "Silvanus Urban" still flourishes in a green old age. His friends and supporters "are for the most part retired antiquarians and aged literary gentlemen, living in various parts of the country." The next in point of age is THE MONTHLY REVIEW. It was established in 1749. Most of the literary men who flourished during the last half of the last century, contributed to its pages; and prominent among them were Smollett, Goldsmith, Johnson,

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Sterne, Hume, and Hawkesworth. In our own day, a part of Mr. Taylor's "Historic Survey of German Poetry" appeared originally in "The Monthly Review." In the same Review, in the year 1806, the reputation of Kirke White was waylaid and barbarously murdered. This is thought to have hastened the poet's death, although we think with Byron,

> "'T is strange the mind, that very fiery particle,
> Should let itself be snuff'd out by an article."

THE MONTHLY MAGAZINE was established in 1786, and among its contributors have been, and for aught we know still are, Fonblanque, the Smiths, Allan Cunningham, Sir Egerton Brydges, and Sheridan Knowles. THE ECLECTIC REVIEW is in part literary, and in part theological; and has been ably conducted for many years by Mr. Condor. Among its most distinguished writers have been Robert Hall, John Foster, and James Montgomery. THE NEW MONTHLY MAGAZINE was started in 1814, by the present proprietor, Mr. Colburn, who engaged the services of Thomas Campbell as editor, at 600*l.* per annum. There was also a sub-editor with a salary of 250*l.* In 1831, Mr. Campbell gave up his editorial chair, and Bulwer the novelist slept in it until 1833. The present editor is Mr. S. C. Hall. Among the most distinguished contributors have been Lady Morgan, Thomas Moore, Theodore Hook, Leigh Hunt, Galt, Allan Cunningham, the Smiths, Mrs. Hemans, and Mr. Grattan. Mr. Colburn's liberality in the remuneration of his writers is proverbial. His usual price is from ten to sixteen guineas a sheet of sixteen pages. Sometimes he has paid as high as twenty. — FRASER'S MAGAZINE commenced its wild and lawless career in 1830. Its articles are written for the most part in a bold, dashing style, and, we are sorry to add, in a spirit of utter profligacy. There is hardly a number which does not make a most desperate onslaught upon some poor author, which may well be called, in the language of the Ettrick Shepherd, a "butchery." What adds not a little to the pungency of the work is its gallery of literary portraits, or outline engravings of distinguished men, generally in caricature. Mr. Forrester executes these. The principal writers in "Fraser" are Crofton Croker, Mahoney, author of the "Prout Papers," Mr. Bankes, Mr. Heraud, and Dr. Maginn. Its circulation is about fifteen hundred copies.

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Of the other Monthlies we have not room to speak; nor can we say more of the weekly literary journals, than simply to enumerate them. They are five in number; The Literary Gazette, The Athenæum, The Mirror, The Penny Magazine, and The Saturday Magazine. The Penny Magazine was established by the "Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge." At one period its circulation was immense, amounting to two hundred thousand copies. At present it does not exceed one hundred and forty thousand. Mr. Knight is editor and proprietor. He pays his contributors at the rate of 1*l.* 15*s.* a page. Three years ago the profits of the work were supposed to be 10,000*l.* per annum; and at present cannot fall far short of 7,000*l.*

The chapter and the book conclude with a few general observations, in the course of which the author commits the following most deliberate absurdity. He says, "The papers which raised the Spectators, and Tatlers, and Guardians, and Ramblers of the eighteenth century into circulation, would not find admission into our periodicals. Supposing that Addison, and Steele, and Johnson were all to rise from their graves, and offer themselves anonymously as contributors to the Magazines and Reviews of 1836, *not one of their articles would be accepted! The most worthless periodical in existence, grounding its claims to public patronage on its original matter, would unceremoniously consign their 'papers,' as articles in those days were called, to the flames!!*" Delicious! Nothing can surpass this. We make no comment. But, with these solemn sentences still sounding in our ears, we close "The Great Metropolis," and bid the author farewell in the words of the Archbishop of Granada to Gil Blas; "Say no more, my child; you are as yet too raw to make proper distinctions. Adieu. I wish you all manner of prosperity with a little more taste."

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ART. VIII. — *Ion; a Tragedy, in Five Acts.* By THOMAS NOON TALFOURD. New York; George Dearborn & Co. 12mo. pp. 109.

THIS remarkable poem has justly called to itself more attention than any other work of the times. Mr. Sergeant Talfourd, its author, is an eminent lawyer, and a member of the British House of Commons. He was, previously to the publication of this poem, well known among the members of his profession, as a gentleman of distinguished ability and literary taste; but out of his profession, and particularly on this side of the water, he was unknown to fame, until his "Ion" set him at once on the very pinnacle. He was trained in classical studies by the celebrated Dr. Valpy, perhaps the ablest teacher of his day in England, and the first edition is dedicated, in terms of almost filial affection, to that excellent man. There are few things more gratifying in human life than such testimonies of respect from a pupil to the instructer of his youth. We can easily imagine the emotions of pride and delight with which the veteran scholar welcomed this beautiful memorial of the genius and taste which he had himself done so much to foster.

"Ion" is evidently the work of many years. It is constructed on the principles of the Grecian drama, and is, on the whole, the most successful reproduction of the antique spirit with which we are acquainted. The simplicity of the Attic drama, by which great and impressive results are wrought out with few means, is very hard to imitate. The heroic elevation of sentiment, which gives a solemn grandeur to the best pieces of Æschylus and Sophocles, belonged to the patriotic and mythical subjects, to which the national mind turned with fondness and enthusiasm; but to create anew an interest in those venerable themes, is a work to task the mightiest and most comprehensive genius. Modern attempts have accordingly been for the most part unsuccessful. They have been either stiff and pedantic imitations, painfully elaborated from a learned brain, or, like the French drama, under the ancient order, have veiled, beneath a strict adherence to unessential forms, essential departures from the genuine aim and spirit of the classic theatre.

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Mr. Talfourd has been remarkably successful in two respects. His tragedy is at once true to the antique models, and deeply interesting to the mere modern reader. The classical scholar, as he reads its exquisite pages, can hardly escape the delusive impression that he has found a long-lost work of Sophocles. Its harmonious lines, to his ear, sound like the old Greek iambics, into which they fall so readily that at times he hardly knows whether he is reading Greek or English. The reader, whose knowledge is bounded by the literature of his mother tongue, finds in it such clear conceptions of character, such a polished and melodious versification, such rich and enchanting imagery, that he yields his spirit to the master's spell, "he knows not why, and cares not wherefore." He rises from its perusal with a pervading sense of beauty, which no other late poem can give him. It is all high thought nobly expressed. It is heroic sentiment and sublime action, tempered and subdued with the softest and most delicate humanity.

"Ion," we have said, is an imitation of antique models; but in no sense that can derogate from its merits as a noble original. The author shows himself, not simply familiar with

> "what the lofty, grave tragedians taught
> In chorus or iambic, teachers best
> Of moral prudence, with delight received,
> In brief, sententious precepts, while they treat
> Of fate and chance, and change in human life;
> High actions and high passions best describing,"

but, what is far more uncommon, deeply imbued with their spirit. He has written as if he had lived in a classic land and grown up in the nurture of heroic traditions; as if he felt, like a countryman, the woes of the house of Pelops and Thyestes, and the doom of an inexorable fate. He is true to the antique, not only in spirit, but in the accessories. The circumstances with which he surrounds the personages in the play, are thoroughly Greek; and the natural scenery, in the midst of which we are placed, brings up in memory many an exquisite scene in Sophocles.

The leading idea of the hero's character, as Mr. Talfourd observes in the Preface to his first edition, is borrowed from the "Ion" of Euripides; but nothing more. Ion, in the Greek play, is a foundling educated in the temple of Apollo at Delphi, and proves to be the son of Apollo and Creusa, an

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Athenian princess. The princess, after the birth of Ion, is married to Xuthus, by the command of her father Erectheus. Having remained long childless, they resolve to consult the oracle, and there Creusa discovers that Ion is her own son. It would be doing gross injustice to Mr. Talfourd to say, that the play of Euripides is equal in any respect to his. With the exception of the beautiful song of Ion, at the opening of the piece, the Grecian drama has but little to recommend it. The dialogues are slovenly and tedious. The characters are low, and the moral feeling is vulgar throughout. But it must be remembered that the play was written after the pure and simple taste of the Athenian stage had begun to decline; and that even Euripides *had* produced several tragedies of the loftiest tone. It must have been the impression made by a few pieces like the Alcestis, on the mind of Mr. Talfourd, that dictated the eulogy he has pronounced on the "Ion" of Euripides.

The plot of Mr. Talfourd's "Ion," though Greek in character, is entirely of his own invention. The birth of a prince of Argos is accompanied by a terrific announcement, that

> "Against the life which now begins shall life
> Lighted from thence be armed, and, both soon quenched,
> End this great line in sorrow."

Doomed thus from the moment of his birth, the unhappy prince is regarded with dread and suspicion by the courtiers, and even by his own parents. Meantime a second son is born, on whom the favor due the first is lavished. He is accidentally killed, and his elder brother is suspected of having murdered him. In despair at the harsh treatment and cruel suspicions of which he is the innocent object, Adrastus flies from the society of his companions, and roves the woods, or plunges into the deep. He meets by accident a lovely maiden, engaged in the pious duty of bestowing the rites of sepulture on her father,

> "And soon two lovely ones by holy rites
> Became one happy being."

His sylvan home is tracked by his father's spies, just as a son is given him, and the infant is seized by ruffians, to avert the foretold catastrophe of the royal house. He is borne to a rock that beetled over the deep; but one of the murderers, stepping upon a loosened crag, falls headlong, and perishes in

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the waters. The other, in whose arms the child is carried, terrified at his companion's fate, lays the infant in the sacred grove, where he is found by attendants of the temple. He is brought up under the fostering care of the aged priest. These are the few circumstances in the history of the leading characters which the progress of the action brings to light.

At the opening of the play, Adrastus is already king of Argos, and the city is afflicted with the pestilence. The first scene is in the temple of Apollo, placed on a rocky height, above the city. The foundling has become a youth of gracious promise, a favorite inmate of the temple. Agenor, one of the sages of Argos, in the scene just referred to, thus describes Ion, who has been permitted by Medon,

> 'To visit the sad city at his will:
> And freely does he use the dangerous boon,
> Which, in my thought, the love that cherished him,
> Since he was found within the sacred grove
> Smiling amidst the storm, a most rare infant,
> Should have had sternness to deny.
>
> AGENOR.
>
> What, Ion
> The only inmate of this fane allowed
> To seek the mournful walks where death is busy! —
> Ion, our sometime darling, whom we prized
> As a stray gift, by bounteous Heaven dismissed
> From some bright sphere which sorrow may not cloud,
> To make the happy happier! Is *he* sent
> To grapple with the miseries of this time,
> Whose nature such ethereal aspect wears
> As it would perish at the touch of wrong?
> By no internal contest is he trained
> For such hard duty; no emotions rude
> Have his clear spirit vanquished; — Love, the germ
> Of his mild nature, hath spread graces forth,
> Expanding with its progress, as the store
> Of rainbow color which the seed conceals
> Sheds out its tints from its dim treasury,
> To flush and circle in the flower. No tear
> Hath filled his eye, save that of thoughtful joy
> When, in the evening stillness, lovely things
> Pressed on his soul too busily; his voice,
> If, in the earnestness of childish sports,
> Raised to the tone of anger, checked its force,

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As if it feared to break its being's law,
And faltered into music; when the forms
Of guilty passion have been made to live
In pictured speech, and others have waxed loud
In righteous indignation, he hath heard
With skeptic smile, or from some slender vein
Of goodness, which surrounding gloom concealed,
Struck sunlight o'er it. So his life hath flowed
From its mysterious urn a sacred stream,
In whose calm depth the beautiful and pure
Alone are mirrored; which, though shapes of ill
May hover round its surface, glides in light,
And takes no shadow from them." —pp. 5, 6.

Adrastus, urged by Medon the high priest, has sent Phocion to consult the Delphic oracle. Impatient at his long delay, and driven to desperation by the raging of the pestilence, the king has shut himself up in his palace, accompanied by a few courtiers, and surrounded by the soldiers of the royal guard, to drown in mad revelry all sense of present ill, and all foreboding of coming destruction. The Sages have already sent him an humble entreaty that he would meet them in council. The messenger has been driven back in disgrace, and the king has decreed that whoever next appears unbidden before his presence shall die. Ion already feels the great task of his life pressing supernaturally upon his spirit, and thus pleads to be sent on this dangerous mission.

"O Sages, do not think my prayer
Bespeaks unseeming forwardness, — send me!
The coarsest reed that trembles in the marsh,
If Heaven select it for its instrument,
May shed celestial music on the breeze
As clearly as the pipe whose virgin gold
Befits the lip of Phœbus; — ye are wise,
And needed by your country; ye are fathers;
I am a lone, stray thing, whose little life
By strangers' bounty cherished, like a wave
That from the summer sea a wanton breeze
Lifts for a moment's sparkle, will subside
Light as it rose, nor leave a sigh in breaking.

MEDON.

Ion, no sigh!

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ION.

Forgive me if I seemed
To doubt that thou wilt mourn me if I fall;
Nor would I tax thy love with such a fear,
But that high promptings, which could never rise
Spontaneous in my nature, bid me plead
Thus boldly for the mission.

MEDON.

My brave boy!
It shall be as thou wilt. I see thou 'rt called
To this great peril, and I will not stay thee.
When wilt thou be prepared to seek it?

ION.

Now.
Only before I go, thus, on my knee,
Let me in one word thank thee for a life
Made by thy love a cloudless holyday;
And O, my more than father! let me look
Up to thy face as if indeed a father's,
And give me a son's blessing!

MEDON.

Bless thee, son!
I should be marble now; let 's part at once.

ION.

If I should not return, bless Phocion from me;
And, for Clemanthe, — may I speak one word,
One parting word with my fair playfellow?

MEDON.

If thou would'st have it so, thou shalt.

ION.

Farewell then!
Your prayers wait on my steps. The arm of Heaven
I feel in life or death will be around me. [*Exit.*

MEDON.

O grant it be in life! Let 's to the sacrifice. [*Exeunt.*"
— pp. 12 – 14.

Ion has unconsciously become attached to Clemanthe, the priest's daughter. The interview between them, which closes the first act, is one of the most beautiful passages of the poem.

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In the second act, the king admits Ion to his presence, having forewarned him of the fatal consequence of his intrusion. Ion, with a sad constancy, persists in delivering his message. The king is overcome by the noble firmness of the youth, and the memory of past days is revived by tones and looks that remind him of her who has been long lost to him. He yields to the irresistible fascination, and relates to Ion the history of his life; then consents to meet the Sages. Meantime Phocion arrives with the response of the oracle, which he is sworn to deliver first to the king.

The following is a part of the scene between Adrastus and the councillors.

ADRASTUS.

"Upon your summons, Sages, I am here;
Your king attends to know your pleasure; speak it!

AGENOR.

And canst thou ask? If the heart dead within thee
Receives no impress of this awful time,
Art thou of sense forsaken? Are thine ears
So charmed by strains of slavish minstrelsy,
That the dull groan and frenzy-pointed shriek
Pass them unheard to Heaven? Or are thine eyes
So conversant with prodigies of grief,
They cease to dazzle at them? Art thou armed
'Gainst wonder, while, in all things, Nature turns
To dreadful contraries; — while Youth's full cheek
Is shrivelled into furrows of sad years,
And 'neath its glossy curls untinged by care
Looks out a keen anatomy; — while Age
Is stung by feverish torture for an hour
Into youth's strength; — while fragile Womanhood
Starts into frightful courage, all unlike
The gentle strength its gentle weakness feeds
To make affliction beautiful, and stalks
Abroad, a tearless, an unshuddering thing; —
While Childhood, in its orphaned freedom blithe,
Finds, in the shapes of wretchedness which seem
Grotesque to its unsaddened vision, cause
For dreadful mirth that shortly shall be hushed
In never-broken silence; — and while Love,
Immortal through all change, makes ghastly Death
Its idol, and with furious passion digs
Amid sepulchral images for gauds

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To cheat its fancy with? — Do sights like these
Glare through the realm thou shouldst be parent to,
And canst thou find the voice to ask 'our pleasure'?

ADRASTUS.

Cease, babbler; — wherefore would ye stun my ears
With vain recital of the griefs I know,
And cannot heal? — will treason turn aside
The shafts of fate, or medicine Nature's ills?
I have no skill in pharmacy, nor power
To sway the elements.

AGENOR.

Thou hast the power
To cast thyself upon the earth with us
In penitential shame; or, if this power
Hath left a heart made weak by luxury
And hard by pride, thou hast at least the power
To cease the mockery of thy frantic revels.

ADRASTUS.

I have yet power to punish insult, — look
I use it not, Agenor! — Fate may dash
My sceptre from me, but shall not command
My will to hold it with a feebler grasp;
Nay, if few hours of empire yet are mine,
They shall be colored with a sterner pride,
And peopled with more lustrous joys than flushed
In the serene procession of its greatness,
Which looked perpetual, as the flowing course
Of human things. Have ye beheld a pine
That clasped the mountain-summit with a root
As firm as its rough marble, and, apart
From the huge shade of undistinguished trees,
Lifted its head as in delight to share
The evening glories of the sky, and taste
The wanton dalliance of the heavenly breeze
That no ignoble vapor from the vale
Could mingle with, — smit by the flaming marl,
And lighted for destruction? How it stood
One glorious moment, fringed and wreathed with fire
Which showed the inward graces of its shape,
Uncumbered now, and midst its topmost boughs,
That young Ambition's airy fancies made
Their giddy nest, leaped sportive; — never clad
By liberal summer in a pomp so rich
As waited on its downfall, while it took

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The storm-cloud rolled behind it for a curtain
To gird its splendors round, and made the blast
Its minister to whirl its flashing shreds
Aloft towards heaven, or to the startled depths
Of forests that afar might share its doom!
So shall the royalty of Argos pass
In festal blaze to darkness! Have ye spoken?"
— pp. 43 – 46.

The assembly breaks up in confusion, and the king returns to the palace to resume the banquet. His doom is now sealed, and Ion is irresistibly impressed with the conviction that he is to be the avenger.

ION.

"O wretched man, thy words have sealed thy doom!
Why should I shiver at it, when no way,
Save this, remains to break the ponderous cloud
That hangs above my wretched country? — death, —
A single death, the common lot of all,
Which it will not be mine to look upon, —
And yet its ghastly shape dilates before me;
I cannot shut it out; my thoughts grow rigid,
And as that dim and prostrate figure haunts them,
My sinews stiffen like it. Courage, Ion!
No spectral form is here; all outward things
Wear their own old familiar looks; no dye
Pollutes them. Yet the air has scent of blood,
And now it eddies with a hurtling sound,
As if some weapon swiftly clove it. No, —
The falchion's course is silent as the grave
That yawns before its victim. Gracious powers!
If the great duty of my life be near,
Grant it may be to suffer, not to strike!" — pp. 50, 51.

The third act opens with a dialogue between Ion and Clemanthe.

CLEMANTHE.

"Nay, I must chide this sorrow from thy brow,
Or 't will rebuke my happiness; — I know
Too well the miseries that hem us round;
And yet the inward sunshine of my soul,
Unclouded by their melancholy shadows,
Bathes in its deep tranquillity one image, —
One only image, which no outward storm
Can ever ruffle. Let me wean thee, then,
From this vain pondering o'er the general woe,
Which makes my joy look ugly.

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ION.

No, my fair one,
The gloom that wrongs thy love is unredeemed
By generous sense of others' woe; too sure
It rises from dark presages within,
And will not from me.

CLEMANTHE.

Then it is most groundless!
Hast thou not won the blessings of the perishing
By constancy, the fame of which shall live
While a heart beats in Argos? hast thou not
Upon one agitated bosom poured
The sweetest peace? and can thy generous nature,
While it thus sheds felicity around it,
Remain itself unblessed?

ION.

I strove awhile
To think the assured possession of thy love
With too divine a burden weighed my heart
And pressed my spirits down; — but 't is not so;
Nor will I with false tenderness beguile thee,
By feigning that my sadness has a cause
So exquisite. Clemanthe! thou wilt find me
A sad companion; — I, who knew not life,
Save as the sportive breath of happiness,
Now feel my minutes teeming, as they rise,
With grave experiences; I dream no more
Of azure realms, where restless beauty sports
In myriad shapes fantastic; but black vaults
In long succession open till the gloom
Afar is broken by a streak of fire
That shapes my name; the fearful wind, that moans
Before the storm, articulates its sound;
And as I passed but now the solemn range
Of Argive monarchs, that in sculptured mockery
Of present empire sit, their eyes of stone
Bent on me instinct with a frightful life
That drew me into fellowship with them,
As conscious marble; while their ponderous lips, —
Fit organs of eternity, — unclosed,
And, as I live to tell thee, murmured 'Hail!
Hail! Ion the Devoted!'" — pp. 52, 53.

A conspiracy is already formed by noble Argive youths to put the king to death. The place of meeting is a deep wood,

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with an ancient altar. As Ion approaches the spot, he utters the following soliloquy.

"O winding pathways, o'er whose scanty blades
Of unaspiring grass mine eyes have bent
So often, when by musing fancy swayed,
That craved alliance with no wider scene
Than your fair thickets bordered, but was pleased
To deem the toilsome years of manhood flown,
And, on the pictured mellowness of age
Idly reflective, image my return
From careful wanderings, to find ye gleam
With unchanged aspect on a heart unchanged,
And melt the busy past to a sweet dream
As then the future was; — why should ye now
Echo my steps with melancholy sound
As ye were conscious of a guilty presence?
The lovely light of eve, that, as it waned,
Touched ye with softer, homelier look, now fades
In dismal blackness; and yon twisted roots
Of ancient trees, with whose fantastic forms
My thoughts grew humorous, look terrible,
As if about to start to serpent life,
And hiss around me; — whither shall I turn? —
Where fly? — I see the myrtle-cradled spot
Where human love instructed by divine
Found and embraced me first; I 'll cast me down
Upon that earth as on a mother's breast,
In hope to feel myself again a child." — p. 57.

He breaks upon the conspirators just as they have bound themselves to the fulfilment of their great purpose, and determined to decide by lot who shall do the deed. The lot falls upon Ion, who devotes himself to the will of destiny, in a speech of solemn grandeur, that breathes the very spirit of Æschylus. After another interview with Clemanthe, Ion departs on his terrible mission. Meantime Irus, the slave of Agenor, bears to Medon a scroll, from a kinsman lying on his death-bed. That kinsman is one of the ruffians to whom the infant Ion was intrusted, and the scroll reveals to Medon the true lineage of the foundling. He imparts the secret to Clemanthe, and learns from her the fatal deed about to be committed.

In the fourth act, Ion creeps stealthily to the chamber of

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the king. Medon rushes in just as his arm is raised to plunge the dagger into his father's bosom, and arrests the deadly purpose. He shows to Adrastus the proofs of his son's birth. The other conspirators, impatient of the delay, hurry to the royal chamber, and one of them, Ctesiphon, whose father has been the object of royal insult, stabs the king. This is followed by a scene of exquisite tenderness between Adrastus and his long-lost son, at the end of which the king dies. Ion prepares to fulfil his yet remaining duty; for the oracle has declared that the royal race must perish. The other conspirators, thinking that Ion has forgotten the vow, determine to accomplish it themselves, and Phocion attempts to assassinate him, but is disarmed. In the succeeding dialogue Ion declares his purpose to fulfil the oracle.

The fifth act opens with a dialogue between the soldiers on guard. Preparations are making for the coronation of the new king. The interview between Ion and Clemanthe at the Temple breathes the purest spirit of tenderness and truth.

The last scene represents the great square of the city, surrounded by the pomp of coronation; a throne, an altar, and statues decked with garlands. Ion sits on the throne of his fathers, and calls out the old Sages, upon whom he devolves the councils of the state; he banishes Crythes, and the royal guards, and exacts from the assembled Argives an oath that when he is dead, the welfare of the state shall never be intrusted to a monarch's will. The scene and the play thus end.

ION.

"Hear and record the oath, immortal powers!
Now give me leave a moment to approach
That altar unattended. [*He goes to the altar.*
Gracious gods!
In whose mild service my glad youth was spent,
Look on me now; — and if there is a Power,
As at this solemn time I feel there is,
Beyond ye, that hath breathed through all your shapes
The spirit of the beautiful that lives
In earth and heaven; — to ye I offer up
This conscious being, full of life and love
For my dear country's welfare. Let this blow
End all her sorrows!

[*Stabs himself, and falls. Ctesiphon rushes to support him.*]

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Ctesiphon, thou art
Avenged, and wilt forgive me.

CTESIPHON.

Thou hast plucked
The poor disguise of hatred from my soul,
And made me feel how shallow is the wish
Of vengeance. Could I die to save thee!

Clemanthe rushes forward.

CLEMANTHE.

Hold!
Let me support him — stand away — indeed
I have best right, although ye know it not,
To cling to him in death.

ION.

This is a joy
I did not hope for — this is sweet indeed. —
Bend thine eyes on me!

CLEMANTHE.

And for this it was
Thou wouldst have weaned me from thee? Couldst thou think
I would be so divorced?

ION.

Thou art right, Clemanthe, —
It was a shallow and an idle thought!
'T is past; no show of coldness frets us now;
No vain disguise, my love. Yet thou wilt think
On that which, when I feigned, I truly said —
Wilt thou not, sweet one?

CLEMANTHE.

I will treasure all.

Enter Irus.

IRUS.

I bring you glorious tidings — Ha! no joy
Can enter here.

ION.

Yes — is it as I hope?

IRUS.

The pestilence abates.

ION. [*springs upon his feet.*]

Do ye not hear?
Why shout ye not? — ye are strong — think not of me;

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Hearken! the curse my ancestry had spread
O'er Argos, is dispelled — Agenor, give
This gentle youth his freedom, who hath brought
Sweet tidings that I shall not die in vain —
And Medon! cherish him as thou hast one
Who dying blesses thee; — my own Clemanthe!
Let this console thee also — Argos lives —
The offering is accepted — all is well! [*Dies.*"
— pp. 107 – 109.

This sketch will give those of our readers, who have not yet seen the tragedy, some notion of its character. The style of the whole piece is exquisitely refined; it combines perfect simplicity with richness and splendor of ornament. It is the transparent medium of bright and clear thought, accompanied by the most delightful and poetical imagery. Every idea is brought out in the full crystalline distinctness, with which it sprang up in the author's mind. This is the point in which the long-continued labor of the poet is most manifest; and it shows the wise and just taste, which guided him in its composition. In saying that Mr. Talfourd's language is elaborate, we must not be understood to say that it has any of the qualities which usually belong to what is called an elaborate style. It is wholly free from pomp and affected splendor. It is subdued down to the utmost precision. Labor has been expended upon it; but only to polish, simplify, and strengthen it; to unfold, in all their beauty and harmony and just proportion, the great ideas which it embodies. Language, in Mr. Talfourd's hands, is like marble in the sculptor's. He has smoothed its roughness, removed every superfluous particle, and worked it into a form of symmetrical beauty, and strong, but well-restrained passion, over which time will have as little power as over the Venus and the Apollo.

We have spoken of the merits of "Ion," considered as a reproduction of the spirit of the antique. On this point we must venture a few further observations. The plot has the simplicity and completeness of Sophocles. The characters are few, and actuated by few and obvious motives. The story is conducted in the antique manner. The destiny of a doomed house is brought about by the very measures taken to counteract it. Adrastus is driven forth by the harsh treatment of his father's courtiers, to seek in another's love the happiness forbidden him in his paternal halls. His infant son is

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doomed to death, but is saved and trained up under all the influences that prepare him to be an instrument of asserting the will of the gods. Adrastus ascends the throne, after trials which have hardened his heart, like Pharaoh's, and made him a fit victim of the avengers. Thus in the general conduct of the plot, Mr. Talfourd has faithfully preserved the antique spirit. He has been equally faithful in minute particulars. The opening of the play presents us with a city filled with mourning and death by the pestilence. It is not an imitation, but it reminds us of the opening of the "Œdipus Tyrannus." Phocion is gone to inquire of the oracle, and the people are anxiously awaiting his return, — just as the Thebans are awaiting, around the altars and shrines of the gods, the return of Creon. He brings back a response, expressed in simple words, of epigrammatic brevity.

> "Argos ne'er shall find release
> Till her monarch's race shall cease."

So Creon, —

> "— The god commands
> That instant we drive forth the fatal cause
> Of this dire pestilence, nor nourish here
> The accursed monster." —

A writer in "The Edinburgh Review" has objected to the simplicity and apparent baldness of this response. But there is no ground for the objection. It is exactly in keeping with all that occur in Sophocles and Euripides, and a great many more scattered over the pages of Herodotus; exactly in keeping with the tone of ancient oracles, wherever and whenever uttered.

Those who are familiar with the Attic drama will be struck by the easy and graceful manner with which Mr. Talfourd imitates the turn of the Sophoclean dialogue. An example occurs in the interview between Ion and Adrastus.

ADRASTUS.

> "Ere I grew
> Of years to know myself a thing accursed,
> A second son was born, to steal the love
> Which fate had else scarce rifled: he became
> My parents' hope, the darling of the crew
> Who lived upon their smiles, and thought it flattery
> To trace in every foible of my youth —
> A prince's youth! — the workings of the curse;

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My very mother — Jove! I cannot bear
To speak it now — look'd freezingly upon me!

ION.

But thy brother —

ADRASTUS.

Died. Thou hast heard the lie,
The common lie that every peasant tells
Of me his master, — that I slew the boy.
'T is false! One summer's eve, below a crag
Which, in his wilful mood, he strove to climb,
He lay a mangled corpse: the very slaves,
Whose cruelty had shut him from my heart,
Now coin'd their own injustice into proofs
To brand me as his murderer.

ION.

Did they dare
Accuse thee?

ADRASTUS.

Not in open speech: — they felt
I should have seized the miscreant by the throat,
And crush'd the lie half-spoken with the life
Of the base speaker; — but the tale look'd out
From the stolen gaze of coward eyes, which shrank
When mine have met them; murmur'd through the crowd
That at the sacrifice, or feast, or game
Stood distant from me; burnt into my soul
When I beheld it in my father's shudder!

ION.

Didst not declare thy innocence?" — pp. 30, 31.

This resembles, but in manner only, the following;

"*Œdipus.* Whence came the boy? Was he thy own, or who
Did give him to thee?
Shepherd. From another hand
I had received him.
Œd. Say, what hand? from whom?
Whence came he?
Shep. Do not, by the gods I beg thee,
Do not inquire.
Œd. Force me to ask again,
And thou shalt die.
Shep. In Laius' palace born.
Œd. Son of a slave or of the king?
Shep. Alas!
'T is death for me to speak," &c.

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Other passages in the "Œdipus Coloneus" and "Antigone," would sustain the same comparison.

Another striking characteristic in the Attic dialogue is this. The victim of fate is often made to use expressions, which, unknown to himself, foreshadow his destiny, or describe his present condition. As the story was generally known to the assembled people, these passages must often have had a thrilling effect. In the play already referred to, Œdipus, in a speech to the Theban people, declares his purpose to avenge the murder of the fallen king, that king being his own father and slain by his own hand.

> "Wherefore I will avenge him as he were
> *My father.*"

A hundred other examples of the same thing might easily be adduced. This characteristic turn has not escaped the eye of Mr. Talfourd, but he has repeatedly introduced it, with great effect. Thus Ion, after dedicating himself to the destruction of the king, at the altar;

> "*And if he has a child*
> Whose blood is needful to the sacrifice
> My country asks, harden my soul to shed it!"

These are examples of small traits, that would not perhaps generally be observed. They serve to show the minuteness of Mr. Talfourd's classical knowledge, and the delicacy of his imitation. Many more might be cited, but it is unnecessary.

We have heard it objected to "Ion," that the characters are not distinctly drawn; that there is more declamation than dramatic effect, in the poem. We think this objection arises from a misconception. It will not do to compare a play, constructed upon the principles of the ancients, with one of Shakspeare's, either in character or plot. The modern master, no doubt, is a more correct delineator of life and the passions, as they have been actually displayed. The Shakspearean drama is the world in miniature. To his eye "all the world is a stage"; and the variety of his characters, the complexity of motives by which they are actuated, the blending of tragedy, comedy, and farce in the same piece, are copied from real life. But not so the ancients. Shakspeare resembles them, but it is in the expression of passions common to the whole race of man. They are alike true to nature, but only to the Universal Nature. In every thing else, they are at

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an infinite distance apart. The ancients raised their characters to an ideal elevation above any actual form of human life. The heroes, demigods, and gods of a far off and fabulous age, blend with the mere human actors, just as the simple but majestic forms that have an ideal life in the memory of our childhood, mingle with the throng of beings that live and breathe around us in our manhood. The characters drawn and represented upon such a principle of art must of necessity be simple and grand. They must resemble the work of the sculptor; and it would be as absurd to try either the plot or characters of Sophocles by the dramatic standard of Shakspeare, as to compare the Medicean Venus with the portrait of Elizabeth, in the gorgeous costume of her age.

We do not see that Mr. Talfourd has failed in the point which the criticism above referred to would indicate. His characters, though simple, seem to us perfectly distinct. King Adrastus is finely and firmly drawn. Ion is a beautiful conception, and consistently carried out. His language is in the strictest keeping with the circumstances in which he is placed, and the traits unfolded by his actions. Clemanthe is a being, who, once known, becomes a part of our mind. Her delightful character appears at intervals in the mournful progress of the action, like a soft light gleaming through the broken clouds of a stormy day.

The appearance of this poem has convinced us of several things, which many people began to doubt. It has shown that however great may be the temporary admiration bestowed upon the hastily-written productions of the day, a true work of genius and art, carefully wrought out, and finished to the last degree, will at once outrank them. This single work of Mr. Talfourd has given more pleasure to the reader, and more fame to the writer, than all the red-hot productions of the intense school, which some are pleased to call poetry, put together. It has also shown that the theory, first propounded we believe by Mr. John Neal, and gravely repeated by Mr. Bulwer, that verse must give way to rhythmical prose in this enlightened age, has no real foundation. It is true that finished poetry has been almost frightened out of the literary world of late, by the abundance of prose run mad, let loose by Bulwer, D'Israeli, and others, just as sober gentlemen are driven from the streets by rabid dogs. But the "dogstar" has almost ceased to "rage," and "all Bedlam" will soon be shut up again.

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Harmony and melody are natural expressions of the mind of man in its higher moods, and will remain so until he becomes another being. Rhythmical prose can no more take the place of verse, than rhythmical reading can supplant singing. Prose is no more poetry, than oratory is music. A discourse is not a song, any more than a talk on 'Change is an opera.

ART. IX. — 1. *Abstract of Massachusetts School Returns, for* 1836. *Prepared for the Use of the Legislature.* By JOHN P. BIGELOW, Secretary of the Commonwealth. Boston; Dutton & Wentworth, Printers to the State. 1837. pp. 47.

2. *History of Massachusetts, for two hundred years, from* 1620 *to* 1820. By ALDEN BRADFORD, an Original Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and Honorary Member of the Historical Society of New York. Boston; Hilliard, Gray, & Co. 1835. 8vo. pp. 480.

THE Abstract of Massachusetts School Returns for the last year, digested by the accurate and intelligent Secretary, agreeably to a resolve of the Legislature of the year 1826, embraces statements from 289 cities and towns, being the whole number of municipal corporations, with the exception of about twenty. They are divided into 2,517 School Districts, employing 2,154 male, and 2,816 female instructers. The schools were attended last year by 146,539 children, between four and sixteen years of age, (75,552 boys, and 70,987 girls,) and were supported by a tax levied by the towns and cities, respectively, amounting to $391,993·96, and by voluntary contributions amounting to $47,593·44; besides which, many towns (about 90,) have funds, the income of which is devoted to this object, all have their share of the $20,000 interest of the State School Fund, and in many, the teacher derives part of his compensation from board furnished by families of the district. The additional amount paid for tuition in *private* schools and academies, is estimated at $326,642·53, giving a total of $726,229·93 *raised* last year in the towns reported, for the support of Common Schools, and Private Schools and Acad-

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emies. The number of scholars attending these latter institutions is rated at 28,752, making the whole number of children at the public and private schools to be 175,291. Other matters of valuable information are embraced in the Abstract; in particular, lists are affixed to the names of the towns, of books used in their schools respectively.

This common-school system, of which the government continues to take so much care, is known to most of our readers to be one of the most ancient institutions of Massachusetts. Indeed, it is only since the period of Independence, that any other schools have been known to our laws, the earliest incorporation of an establishment for instruction, below the rank of the University, being that of Phillips's Academy at Andover, in 1780. The first free school of the colony was that of Boston, where in 1635, five years from the settlement of that peninsula, the inhabitants voted in town meeting, "on the thirteenth of the second month," "that our brother Philemon Pormont shall be entreated to become schoolmaster for the teaching and nurturing of youth among us." Twelve years after, the General Court of the Commonwealth, having accomplished the very serious enterprise of founding the College, turned their attention to the sources whence its supplies of competent preparatory knowledge were to be drawn, and to the still wider exigency of competent instruction for the whole people. One of their first acts under the charter had been to order, that "forasmuch as the good education of children is of singular behoof and benefit to any commonwealth, and whereas many parents and masters are too indulgent and negligent in that kind, the selectmen of every town in the several precincts and quarters where they dwell, shall have a vigilant eye over their brethren and neighbours, to see that none of them shall suffer so much barbarism in any of their families, as not to endeavour to teach, by themselves or others, their children and apprentices, so much learning, as may enable them perfectly to read the English tongue, and knowledge of the capital laws." In 1647, being now strong enough to do better, they proceeded to enact, as follows;

"It being one chief project of Satan to keep men from the knowledge of the Scripture, as in former times keeping them in unknown tongues, so in these latter times, by persuading from

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the use of tongues, that so at least the true sense and meaning of the original might be clouded and corrupted with false glosses of deceivers; to the end *that learning may not be buried in the graves of our forefathers* in church and commonwealth, the Lord assisting our endeavours; —

"Sec. I. It is therefore ordered, by this Court and the authority thereof, that every township within this jurisdiction, after the Lord hath increased them to the number of *fifty householders*, shall then forthwith appoint one within their towns to teach all such children as shall resort to him, to write and read, whose wages shall be paid, either by the parents or masters of such children, or by the inhabitants in general, by way of supply, as the major part of those that order the prudentials of the town, shall appoint; provided that those who send their children be not oppressed by paying much more, than they can have them taught for in other towns.

"Sec. II. And it is further ordered, that where any town shall increase to the number of *one hundred families* or householders, they shall set up a *Grammar School*, the master thereof being able to instruct youth, so far as they may be fitted for the University; and if any town neglect the performance hereof above one year, then every such town shall pay five pounds per annum to the next such school, till they shall perform this order."

Thus, before the Massachusetts Colony was twenty years old, the outline of its system of universal free instruction was complete. Wherever a space had been redeemed from the forest, large enough to let in the light upon two hundred settlers, there every child had a right to demand of the public for himself, and every parent for his child, an education qualifying him to make his own way in the world, and acquit himself intelligently of his obligations as a citizen. And wherever twice that number was collected, making the back broad enough for the burden, there every child of sufficient capacity was enabled and invited to prepare himself, at the common cost, for the highest places of usefulness and dignity, which the commonwealth had to fill, or for the retired pursuits of laborious scholarship, as his taste might dictate.

The sovereign head had teemed, and Minerva was born full grown. The scheme of keeping the people free, by seasonably giving to every one of them intelligence to understand his rights and duties, never afterwards received, it did not require, any essential improvement. We wish we could

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but say as much, as that it had uniformly been cherished in all the enlightened and bountiful spirit of its original conception. But we fear it has shared, in some degree, the fate of most human things. It is true that the manifest and vast utility of the system, as the experience of successive generations has revealed it, has not only secured it against any danger of abandonment, but made it one of the most prominent objects of reverence and pride to the people of the Commonwealth. Still we cannot but think, that, if nothing of the comprehensiveness of view, and enthusiasm of purpose, which attended its origin, had been abated, improvements in the details would have been adopted, corresponding to the different wants of different times, such as would now have left us less to desire. Massachusetts has not been false to this best legacy of her founders. We would not so libel her fair fame as to hint it. But if her people in recent times, careful to keep up substantially the institutions of their fathers, have not been so careful to imitate their fathers' conscientiousness and zeal, it is certainly no new thing that the trustee should be found less busy and hearty than the giver.

At all events, we suppose that no one will dispute us, when we express our conviction, that in proportion to the increased resources of the time, we bear a vastly less pecuniary burden for this great public object, than our predecessors voluntarily assumed, when before them it was a thing unheard of. It is equally unquestionable, that the course of legislation has in some degree concurred with, instead of obstructing, or qualifying, the tendency of other events, to bring down the common schools from the high place which they held, relatively to the wants of society, at the time of their institution. A law, passed soon after that which we last quoted, and providing that "every town consisting of more than *five hundred* families or householders, shall set up and maintain *two* grammar schools, and two writing schools," we suppose was the last which increased the obligations of the towns in respect to common school instruction in the higher departments. An act of the first year after the government was changed by the Provincial Charter of William and Mary, confirms the previously existing legislation in respect to the two great features which have been above brought to notice, but apparently without continuing the obligation upon towns, however populous, to support more than one *grammar*, or *classical* school.

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So things stood, down to the time of the Revolution. The Constitution of 1780 provided as follows :

" Wisdom and knowledge, as well as virtue, diffused generally among the body of the people, being necessary for the perpetuation of their rights and liberties, and as these depend on spreading the opportunities and advantages of education in the various parts of the country, and among the different orders of the people, it shall be the duty of legislatures and magistrates, in all future periods of this Commonwealth, to cherish the interests of literature and the sciences, and all seminaries of them ; especially the University at Cambridge, *public schools, and grammar schools, in the towns.*"

The first legislative act respecting town schools under the Constitution, dates from the year 1789 ; and its character is partly to be explained, if not excused, on the ground of the heavy pecuniary embarrassments of the time. Towns of fifty families were now required to support a reading and writing-school half the year only, instead of constantly, as before, the latter duty being now imposed on towns of a hundred families ; and a population of two hundred families, instead of one hundred, as formerly, was made necessary to create an obligation for the support of a *grammar*, or classical school. The practice, however, by no means followed, with equal step, the laxness of the law. Such was the value generally attached to a good education, and such the sense of the importance of general information to the general well-being, that the towns continued to tax themselves to an amount much exceeding, in the aggregate, the exactions of the law ; in many instances making appropriations twice as great as were requisite to meet their legal liabilities. And, in fact, as to the liberality which has been shown in the support of the secondary class of schools, (as distinguished from the classical,) there has been all along much more reason for satisfaction than complaint.

The city of Boston, for instance, might satisfy the law by levying an annual tax of $3000 or $4000 for the support of schools. It however raised last year no less than $88,000 for the purpose ; and this, of course, in the spot of the Commonwealth, where the best and most numerously attended private institutions are collected.* With this money, it maintained eighty-eight schools, open to all children of the proper age. Seventy-

* The average number of pupils at private schools is 4000, and the estimated cost of their instruction $100,000. — *Secretary's Report*, p. 2.

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four of them are what are called Primary Schools, attended each by an average of from thirty to fifty children, from four to seven years of age. The establishments of next highest rank are the English Grammar Schools, for boys from seven to fourteen, and girls from seven to sixteen years old. "In these schools," — we extract from "Regulations of the School Committee of Boston, adopted May, 1836," —

"are taught the common branches of an English education. In the several buildings where the arrangement is complete, there are two large halls occupied by two departments, one of which is for a grammar school, and the other for a writing school. The scholars are organized in two divisions. While one division attends to grammar, the other attends to writing; exchanging half daily. In the grammar department, the pupils are taught chiefly, spelling, reading, English grammar, and geography; in the writing department, they are taught writing, arithmetic, and book-keeping."

These schools are attended respectively by a number of pupils not varying far from two hundred and fifty of each sex. For the instruction of the boys, each department has a master and an usher; and for that of the girls, a master and three female assistants.

There are two public schools in Boston of a higher order, the English High School and the Latin Grammar School. Each of these institutions has a master, a sub-master, and so many assistants as to give one instructer to every thirty-five pupils. The English High School

"was instituted in 1821, with the design of furnishing the young men of this city, who are not intended for a collegiate course of study, and who have enjoyed the usual advantages of the other public schools, with the means of completing a good English education, to fit them for active life, or qualify them for eminence in private or public stations. Here is given instruction in the elements of mathematics and natural philosophy, with their application to the sciences and the arts, in grammar, rhetoric, and belles lettres, in moral philosophy, in history natural and civil, and in the French language. This institution is furnished with a valuable mathematical and philosophical apparatus, for the purpose of experiment and illustration." — *Ibid.*, p. 17.

Of the Latin Grammar School, we shall be sustained by those acquainted with the facts in saying, that, for a great part, at least, of the last quarter of a century, its pupils, offered for

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admission at the University, were found, on the whole, better fitted, than an equal number from any other place of instruction, public or private. It has been, in short, the best school in the country. The richest man could not buy for his son a better preparatory education, than here the poorest man's son could have for nothing. This is as it should be. This fills out, for one instance, the magnificent idea of the founders of our system of *Universal Free Education.*

We have implied, however, that this, though not a single, is a rare instance, and that the grammar schools, as might have been anticipated, have not fared nearly so well at the hands of the public, as those where only the English branches are taught. In fact, whatever of law survives upon the subject, goes only to support them in a small number of the most populous towns, which do not need State legislation to enforce the provision; the act of February, 1824, having released from the obligation all towns of less than five thousand inhabitants.*

We always regret and wonder to hear it said, that the Academies, which have sprung up during the present century, in such numbers, have supplied the want thus created. Under the name of Academies, our readers understand us to speak of incorporated institutions, in county and other towns, governed by trustees, and generally aided, in part, — in no instance, that we know, maintained, — by public or private endowments. They do supply the want, after a manner, for the rich; though, for the most part, they compel the rich man to a measure, which if he is wise, he will often hesitate much to take, even with the prospect of such benefit as they offer; that is, to send his son away, at the most critical and impressible period of life, out of the safe and profitable circle of domestic influence. But how do they supply the want for the poor man, or the man in middling circumstances? If he can afford to spare his sons' labor, and provide them with clothes and books while they study, this is the most that he can do. He cannot afford to pay their board in another town. The privilege of having them educated on that condition is no available privilege to him.

We suppose that there is little hope of our ever getting back, in this respect, into the old path. It is obvious that the Academies, now instituted, actually stand in the way of what we would else not permit ourselves to despair of. But if

* The laws in force are digested in Revised Statutes, ch. xxiii.

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we cannot express unqualified satisfaction with the present, we cannot refrain from unqualified admiration of the past. It was a scheme worthy of the founders of such a republic as this, — that of giving the poorest boy, first the means of becoming respectable and prosperous, an independent happy man and a useful citizen, and then the chance, (if he but lived where there was money enough to bear the charge,) of becoming a useful and a famous man in the highest walks of public service. Would that we had them back again, the days when the State kept the best schools, and kept them open to every one of its children; when all "the rich and the poor met together," under equal advantages, in fair competition, and in the knitting of ties of lasting friendship. The system gave, and what remains of it prolongs, — to use Mr. Webster's words in the Convention of 1820, — "the time, when in the villages and farm-houses of New England, there may be undisturbed sleep within unbarred doors." But what is gone of it, has carried along with itself a great excellence and beauty of the plan. And what was the community's safety, and blessing, and glory, and everybody's good, was especially the poor man's wealth. Nothing could possibly be more opposite to the truth, than was the feeling, (which had its influence in effecting the change,) that the institutions suffered to go into disuse were institutions for the advantage of the few. It was, on the contrary, the poor man who had the precious benefit for his children, — accessible to others in some other way, but not else accessible to him; and it was the rich who met almost all the cost.

But if such revolutions do not go backward, lamentation over them comes to nothing, while on the other hand there is the more reason for checking any tendency they may manifest to further progress, and laboring to "strengthen the things which remain." The English, or as they are commonly called in the country, the District Schools, have in recent years been the object of particular solicitude; and the attention of the Legislature has been repeatedly given to them, in consequence of the exertions of no one more than those of Mr. Carter of Lancaster, the present chairman of the House of Representatives' committee on education, the same gentleman whose very valuable publications on the subject we have noticed at different times.* Without having given the attention that

* Vol. XIX. p. 448. Vol. XXIV. p. 156.

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we should have done to the operations of the American Institute of Instruction, we suppose also that the exertions of that association have effected much that is profitable, in the way both of stimulating and informing the public mind on this subject. In 1834, was established the Massachusetts School Fund, in which were invested, by the act, the proceeds of the Massachusetts claim upon the General Government for military services during the last war, to the amount of $280,000, and one half the net proceeds of the sale of Eastern lands, till the fund shall amount to $1,000,000. The income of the fund, at present nearly $20,000, is divided annually among the cities, towns, and districts, in proportion to the number of their children between four and sixteen years of age. As encouragement to the tax payers to make somewhat better provision than otherwise their expenditure would admit, this is useful; and will be more so, as the amount is increased. But, without undertaking to say that the fund might not advantageously be much larger than the present law contemplates, we cannot disguise our satisfaction at the existence of a principle of limitation of the fund, to an amount far below what the support of the schools requires. We hope never to see the time when, as in Connecticut, the towns shall be released from the obligation of self-taxation. The feeling on their part, that it is their own money, which maintains the schools, is, in various ways which might be specified, if they were not sufficiently apparent, altogether too valuable to be dispensed with.

The subject of a State institution for the better education of teachers of the common schools, has within the last ten years been repeatedly before the legislature; and last year the appointment of a Superintendent of Common Schools was urged upon it in a memorial from the Institute of Instruction. An act for the creation of this functionary was reported by the committee on education, but did not become a law. The Institute have again memorialized the legislature, at its present session, on "the expediency of instituting, for the special instruction of teachers, one or more seminaries, either standing independently, or in connexion with institutions already existing." But at the time when we are writing, no definitive action has been had upon the project.

For the present, we dismiss the subject of the actual condition of the common schools, with the expression of the great pleasure we have in knowing them to be as good as they

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are, and of our earnest wish that they were much better, and especially that the now vanished feature of the institution were restored. Such as they are, they admirably teach some valuable lessons, which are not ostensibly comprised within their plan of instruction. It is calculated that they afford to nineteen twentieths of our population all the education which they receive. Of the other twentieth, we presume we should be within the truth, in reckoning that four fifths are indebted to them for some part of their school instruction, making ninety-nine in every hundred of our people to have been at some time their pupils. As far as habits of thought and character are concerned, the lessons which they teach may accordingly be viewed, for all practical purposes, as enforced on the whole population, since the small fraction on whom they do not directly operate, is incapable of any influence to resist that, exerted by so vast a preponderance of numbers. And thus we go on to say, that, whether these institutions teach more or less of geography, or grammar, or other things well worth the learning, there are some habits of mind and feeling of the first consequence, which they do effectually teach, and teach to all; to their own pupils directly, and to the small remnant of others through their example and influence; and among these things are *the sense of individual independence, and the sentiment of mutual respect.*

We are not sorry to have this topic brought in our way, connecting itself, as it does, with some points on which we were touching in our last number. We there had occasion to remark upon complaints, current in certain quarters respecting some supposed peculiarities of the New England character. There are others, which, from time to time, have come under our notice, and probably under that of most of our readers; and they happen to be of that kind, that if they could be substantiated, they would prove the population in question to be not only very blamable on other accounts, but to be capable of resisting, with a superhuman perversity, some of the most imperious influences under which character is formed. Till all signs fail, it may be pretty safely predicted, that, of a people circumstanced in childhood and youth like that of New England, few will be found manifesting, in later life, either the arrogance and narrowness of a caste on the one hand, or a servile deference to the opinions and wishes of associates on the other.

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Aristocracy, for instance, in New England! In New England, of all places in the world, where, by the fast-coloring chemics of the common schools, the boys are all dyed in the wool with democracy; — with democracy, not in some conventional sense, which, in one or another part of the country, the word may have in this year or in that; but with the conviction and the feeling of a perfect equality among men, except so far as merit makes a difference. Aristocracy in New England! where, in the collisions and friendships and rivalries of childhood, collected in masses, not divided into ranks, the very last thing thought of is the distinction between more or less pocket-money, or a homelier or gayer dress, and the *squire's* son is no better than the day-laborer's, unless he happens to be able, which it is likely he will not, to get a longer lesson, or strike a harder blow. We are not arguing to clods, or we would take more pains to show, that, in such associations, it is the bright, and the bold, and the amiable, who will take the lead, and not the high-born, if such an element there were; and that the different experiences of later life will be incompetent to undo the discipline there applied, and quell the spirit there engendered, and make the one class craven, and the other domineering. Till we have men among us, who never were boys, or till our boys are brought up in a different manner from what now prevails, it might seem that we were tolerably safe against any discomfort arising from the overbearing spirit of an aristocracy.

But others, we from time to time are learning, are of a different mind. Thus speaks a correspondent of the New York "Knickerbocker" for last October. We give the statement from this source, both because it is the most recent, of the same description, which has happened to come in our way, and because it appears in a work of that class which undertakes and intends a true representation of current opinions of the time. The article is headed "New York and New England." Of the latter section it affirms;

"Because the emigrant from her soil is a fine character, it by no means follows that he is so at home. We hazard the assertion that New England is a land of petty aristocrats. Is any one so ignorant as to suppose the reverence for rank and title, which the Pilgrims brought from England, could be done away by the mere intervention of the Atlantic ocean? We refer not particularly to the Plymouth band, but to the early population of the East.

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They had nursed, in their mother's milk, a love for show, a respect for birth; their being had been imbued with these feelings, and they insensibly taught them to their children."

Again,

"The widest distinctions in society were known at the time of our revolution, and served to hasten it on. Old habits have continued to this day; and there is throughout the States east of the Hudson, a family pride, — select circles, — upper and lower class doctrine, at war with the spirit of our institutions, and the general advancement of that section in intelligence, manners, and refinement. Consequently, we find there one class eminently distinguished for eloquence, learning, and taste, while the great body of the people are inferior, much inferior, to the general level of American character. This upper class are often too refined to attend to their political duty. They are too much immersed in letters and pleasure, too sublimated, to descend to the vulgar arena of elections. They may talk of public affairs, erect monuments to distinguished men, give of their abundance to all the showy, magnificent operations of the day, and yet do this with an exclusive spirit, and with a haughty patronage, that robs the thing of all republican odor."

Yet once more;

"That people should set themselves up as grandees, look down upon the working classes, instruct their children by example and precept to give themselves airs, and make them believe they are of a higher race than the rest of their countrymen, is shocking and disgusting in a country where merit is acknowledged to be the only path to respectability, and where poverty is felt to be no disgrace."

"Here 's a coil, my masters!" The author dates from a place which we suppose is somewhere in the interior of the Empire State; and the vagueness of his terms makes it necessary to presume, that he has not had opportunity for personal observations on the state of society which they rebuke. Accordingly, we mean not the smallest disrespect to him, be he who he may, when we say, that the sort of people with whom this *persiflage* originates, are simply those who have been piqued into giving it currency, in consequence of not finding in New England that standard of social rank, on which they rely to give themselves the consideration they demand. A visiter comes thither without any apparent claims of intelligence, virtue, or refinement, but with the reputation of being

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eminently "good" on 'change. If he commits himself so far as to assume any thing on this ground, he finds reason perhaps to suspect that the cold shoulder is shown him; at all events, the New England world is not accustomed to stand aghast at any such apparition, and he goes away swelling with indignation at its impenetrable aristocracy. Or, a brother of Sir Plume,

> —— "Of amber snuff-box justly vain,
> And the nice conduct of a clouded cane,"

he looks for great effects to an exhibition of himself which really reflects credit on nobody but the tailor and hair-dresser who made him. He appears in the barbaro-puritan city of the East, and if he is nothing but well-dressed, not a fan nor a heart knows a single added flutter; and the view of an aristocracy which chills even maidenly enthusiasm, is wormwood to his more enlightened spirit. Or, having been lifted as high on the shoulders of a mob, as that stature of which "the mind" is not "the measure" can reach, he falls in with such as have little awe for official dignity, except as it has been attained by merit, or been made the means of conscientious public services; and the sight of their aristocratic phlegm moves his republicanism to boisterous lamentation.

A "reverence for rank and title," "respect for birth," "family pride," "grandees" who "look down upon the working classes," in New England! "Tell that to" — the part of the crew that does not sail the ship. "Rank and title"! Everybody knows, or may know, that with us the rural squire (and not a few of them are there) is company for the governor; and the priest or the schoolmaster for either; and the hard-handed, worthy man, who built the house they meet in, for them all. They are avowedly and actually fit companions, and (if need be, as it often is,) equal opponents for each other, in the cares of public life. They are avowedly and actually fit companions at the hospitable board. "Respect for birth"! Our blood is all one stream. It makes our union, not our division. It is that which in the olden day, in times when union was never closer nor more needful, stained full many a cavalier's sabre on the other side of the water, and full many a savage tomahawk, in these western wilds; the same red, warm, honest, Puritan fluid, which has always been so shy of any place in a villain's veins, and so quick to mount when battle was to be done for principle and freedom.

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"Family pride"! If inequalities of condition among us as to property, — the only thing in which a distinction could exist, — were much greater than they are, the seven generations of New England have given time for some such ups and downs, as hardly admit of any loud assertion of such a feeling on the one hand, or any very cordial toleration of it on the other. They have given some opportunity for such repetition of the wise man's spectacle, as is apt to occur, where there are no laws of entail, to interfere with the levelling operations of nature, — "servants upon horses, and princes walking as servants upon the earth." In New England, only with some checks arising from less volatile temperament, and more frugal prevailing habits, the progress and decline of family fortunes has been essentially the same as in other places, where a similar freedom for advancing and ruining one's self has been enjoyed. The first generation has stood behind the counter. The second, retaining the habits to which it was early formed, and possessing every advantage of education, has adorned with all elegances, as well as often with all virtues, the station in which it entered upon life; the third has been apt to drive, four in hand, to the bottom of the strong-box; and the fourth, educated without method or good example, and mortified by its "false position," has had much harder work to rise, if it were so disposed, than did the founder of the domestic dynasty. And however it may be in less permanent communities, where people "come like shadows, so depart," hereabouts we know each other too well, and have too good memories, to favor the purposes of any who should be inclined to fall out with the ladder they rose by, even if our habits of estimating character did not lead us to respect the fortunate heir, who should chance to have nothing else to recommend him, much less than we respect the memory of the honest and capable man, who gathered for him the means to make his coxcombry conspicuous.

There is hereditary wealth in New England. But, for the most part, the rich men of its cities are those who have come to them from the country, poor, and have made their way by industry and talent, and the qualities which make it honorable to rise. In many communities, this process, however desirable else, would bring vulgarity forward into the high places of society. Here it is not so. Poor these adventurers were, when they started in life, compared with what they have made

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themselves. But they did not therefore rise from the kennel. The furthest possible from it. They came from their native villages, the sons of families, who were there as good as their neighbours, and as much trained to refinement of mind and manners. Accordingly, they brought with them no danger that they would shame the prosperity they might attain. They brought with them a liberality of sentiment, which adorns their prosperity, and makes it a public benefit. The *hunks*, (we have to be indebted to English dramatic literature for the term, because, in the richest part of this country, scarcely having the thing, we have found no occasion for the name,) the hunks is a specimen of our motley nature, of which we know little, except by hearsay. No doubt there may possibly be, now and then, a person just wise enough to make some money, yet foolish enough to think too much of it, and too much of himself on its account. But even such a person takes care to be incommunicatively "alone in his glory," unless he is very patient of the mortification which would be sure to follow on the expression of it. "Grandees" who "instruct their children to give themselves airs, and make them believe they are of a higher race than the rest of their countrymen"! For the curiosity of the thing, we would gladly travel to any part of New England, to see one of those children of a grandee practising upon his august parent's discipline, and mark the reception it would meet. Why, nothing is more notorious than that the richest and best-named father, with all the influence of his worth, not to say of his wealth, cannot so much as keep his son on a footing in good society, if the youth is known to be a profligate. Loss of caste is the inevitable penalty. And on the other hand, how vast must be the influence of blood and guineas, when any one, who has actually been in the good society of New England, knows that he has habitually met there the distinguished male and female teacher of youth, on a perfectly equal footing with the highest of the circle; we do not say merely their honored guest, — for hospitality may be but patronage, — but exchanging with them, on perfectly equal terms, the attentions that belong to an elegant social intercourse. This is nothing to boast of. It is no more than sensible and cultivated people find to belong to their own position, and their own pleasure, as well as that of others. But the fact furnishes an awkward text for such an expounder

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of national character, as the writer from whom we have just been quoting.

We hope "The Monthly Magazine" is in no danger of cooling in its love of us, since its regretted emigration. But so it is, that it has taken to goading us in a tender part of our fame. In a notice of the Address of Mr. Sprague, which we commended in our last number, it quotes that gentleman's declaration that "enthusiasm was the characteristic of our fathers," and remarks;

"We do not think that he proves his proposition. 'Fanaticism' is the more appropriate term for a part of that feeling which impelled the Puritans to seek a home in the wilderness of the New World; and the bigoted despotism with which they domineered over all who departed from their stern creed, and who would not consent to stand, day and night, in the strait jacket, in which they enveloped alike the feeble and the strong, should not be dignified with the name of enthusiasm.

"It was wicked, impute it to what cause we may. The tyranny, with which they were oppressed in England, was light in comparison to the relentless and unsated animosity with which they pursued the Quakers, the most harmless and kindest sect the world ever saw. These dark traits in the character of our forefathers certainly deserve not the epithet enthusiastic."

We quote this form of the charge, because we like to quote something; and not because it is necessary, in order to show that we are not tilting against a man of straw. Anybody who was curious about this description of remarks, might find them in a great variety of publications, but particularly among those belonging to the classes in literature which have a kind of conventional liberty to use confidence, and eschew qualifications. When Lord Castlereagh had uttered himself in the House of Commons, the newspapers used to say that his Lordship had been "airing his vocabulary." It is the limited vocabulary, of which the periods quoted above are a specimen, that a certain class of writers are wont to air, when they undertake the demerits of New England. What we shall say upon the topic, will do them no good. New England bigotry is an easy phrase to remember and to write, and very many times will they yet compound it, while they "build the lofty line." The object of their disapprobation must endeavour that it may cause her as little grief as may be. We have hope of her that she will sustain no irremediable, at least no intolerable harm.

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She has looked, sooner and later, on a good deal of such spilt ink, and "yet lives," as healthily as did Jeannie Deans, when she survived the seeing of the queen's majesty.

"Fanaticism is the more appropriate term for a part of that feeling, which impelled the Puritans to seek a home in the wilderness of the New World." That is partly as people think. The assertion is one of that indefiniteness, which renders it particularly difficult to confute; and at all events, it does not admit of being met, without entering into a course of discussion which does not comport with the habits of this journal. For ourselves, let us but know that we were animated by the feeling which impelled those glorious men to execute their glorious work, and anybody should be welcome to call it by any name, which might suit his notions of justice or of euphony.

"The tyranny with which they were oppressed in England, was light in comparison to the relentless and unsated animosity with which they pursued the Quakers, the most harmless and kindest sect the world ever saw." This comparison, we doubt, was instituted without a careful examination of the Star Chamber records. We incline to the opinion, that there is that in their testimony, which will not allow it to be maintained. As for the eminence of the sect of Quakers for harmlessness and kindness, among all which the world has seen, the world has seen Quakers of the beginning of the seventeenth century as well as of the beginning of the nineteenth; and they did not look alike; and if the essential guilt of persecution would be aggravated, when aimed against the quiet, patient philanthropist of the present day, it does not therefore follow that it would be attended with like aggravation, however wicked else, when the subject was the mischievous madman of two centuries ago, with whom the Massachusetts colonists had to deal. We suppose that the duty of toleration, comprehensive though it be, stops somewhere short of allowing men and women, for conscience' sake, to run, as naked as they were born, through the streets, and into the churches; or at all events, that it does not require the permitting of people to gain a name like Abraham's by sacrificing their own sons, as one of the Quakers, in 1658, was proceeding to do, when his neighbours, alarmed by the boy's cries, broke into the house in time to interfere. "The relentless and unsated animosity with which they pursued the Quakers"! We had always read, that it was the

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Quakers who pursued them. It may be that the Quakers caught a Tartar in Puritan raiment, at last; and then so much the worse for both hunter and game; but that it was the Quaker bugle that cheered on the chase, no one can doubt who thinks that there is truth in history. Grant that it would have been better to imitate in New England the example of the Pope, or still better that of the Grand Turk, the former of whom put Fox's emissaries in one of his Hospitals of St. Luke, and the latter treated them with that ceremonious respect, which it is a Mohammedan superstition to pay to alienation of mind. Still, the course of the Massachusetts magistrates must be considered as a remarkable one, for such as were impelled to a pursuit by a relentless and unsated animosity. When the Quakers found them out, in their distant hiding-place from the storm, they contented themselves with merely sending them back by the vessels which had brought them, thinking that both might live more satisfactorily, if they lived apart. The Quakers persisted, and were sent away a second time. A third time they came. Severer penalties were then resorted to. They were such as did not affect life, but they were too harsh to carry the public opinion along with them, and recourse was again had to the experiment of removal of the offensive visitants out of the jurisdiction. It failed; and at length, by the majority of a single voice, the assembly passed that law denouncing the punishment of death against Quakers *returned from banishment*, which has had its chief life in history, for it was repealed almost as soon as enacted. The whole contest, from first to last, in its different degrees of hardship, continued about four years, when a more humane policy possessed itself of the public councils, and the Quakers, having carried the day, or rather finding more peaceable times than suited the manifestation of their gifts, gradually disappeared from the field.

We will not repeat what, in a different connexion, we found occasion to say, in a recent number, upon this popular subject of the persecuting spirit of the founders of New England.* Nor will we dwell on the facts, of recent occurrence on the other side of the water, when the Quakers first landed here, which caused them to find the colonists in a state of most sensitive apprehension respecting the spread of fanatical

* Vol. XLII. p. 128, seq.

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doctrines, which seemed to threaten the overthrow of all decency of private morals, and the dissolution of civil society, and to be particularly perilous to themselves in their yet unformed state. But we wish we could make our countrymen of other portions of the Union look a little more closely, than they have done, at some large relations of that old policy of New England, which some of them appear to think a single severe paragraph or period quite sufficient to despatch. It is a great grief and offence to them, that church membership was made a qualification for the enjoyment of the franchises of a freeman of the colony. Let them chide, if they must. But we can tell them, that they would have had to wait somewhat longer for their independence, if it had not been for this intolerant spirit of New England legislation, which gives them so much disturbance. Lord Clarendon tells us, that the Royal Commissioners, sent out in 1664, found the northern colonies already "hardened into republics." They had been a short time hardening. What hardened them so fast? Nothing more than the jealous and rigid pertinacity, with which they adhered to their theory of exclusion from political power, of all who might have used it to strangle their embryo commonwealth. It will not do to look upon the Massachusetts fathers as a set of heady zealots, careful only to have their own way in religion without regard to consequences, and that way not a very wise one. There were cool and far-sighted statesmen at the helm. King or Protector to the contrary notwithstanding, they meant to have a republic; and they had it virtually from the first, exercising with the utmost freedom all attributes of sovereignty, though avoiding all ostentation of it with the utmost address. They were not so unfit for their delicate work, as to be willing to commit power to any who would have used it to obstruct their object, or even who would not sympathize with them in hearty zeal for its accomplishment. They meant that no man, attached to the monarchy of England through attachment to its Church, (whether that should turn out to be Papal or Episcopal,) should have a particle of power to annoy them in the prosecution of their great work; and therefore if such a man came to live among them, they would have it that he should come as the subject, not as the sharer, of *their* government. Dexterity as well as nerve had a place in playing so critical a game, and little fit would they have been to win it, if they had volunteered to show

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their hands to his Majesty's Privy Council. To exclude churchmen from power, and admit to it other dissenters from their own communion, would have been to deprive their act of all color, even if otherwise it would have perfectly attained their end. Taking advantage of their reputation abroad for acting under impulses, which observers, less sagacious than themselves, supposed to be the only ones that had power over their minds, they cut off indiscriminately those who did not love their creeds from all participation in the government, and were quite willing that others should be stupid enough to ascribe to a stupid bigotry of theirs, a measure, which, had it been seen to be prompted, as it was, by the profoundest policy, would have brought down on them, too soon, the hard and heavy hand of England. So they had their own way, without any one in their own midst, to mar it. So they consolidated their institutions, till, by the time when the second generation came forward, they had "hardened into republics." So they kept up and bequeathed the intense and constant spirit they had brought with them. So they stood quietly by their arms, to watch the signs of the times, and do what, from one time to another, might be needful for the keeping of the treasure they had no mind to part with. So they were ready to depose and imprison a king's governor, as they actually did in Boston, in 1688; and if matters had then gone otherwise in England, they would perhaps have antedated the Revolution by nearly a century. So they built firm the foundations of the commonwealths, which at length did the part of New England, — were that little or much, — in the War of Independence. Blot the franchise laws of the Massachusetts colonists out of history, — for the sake of getting clear of the diatribes which small wits indite upon their bigotry, let in the emissaries of Strafford and Laud into the council chambers of the New England Puritans, and we do not like to say, — for we are modest Yankees, no less than well-affectioned, — we do not like to hint how differently, by this time, the history, not only of one continent, but of the other, would have read.

As to bigotry now-a-days, there is plenty of religious narrowness all the world over, and we do not mean to say that there is drawn around New England any spell to exclude the pest. But we do say, with confidence, and not without the opportunity of some observation upon other communities, that we know no part of this country, or of any other, where differ-

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ences in religious opinion do less to check the friendliness of general intercourse, or disturb the intimacies of private life. We claim for our compatriots, whether of one way of belief or another, the credit of as intelligent perceptions of the reasons on which they found their faith, as are possessed by the average of any other people; and undoubtedly it is not the well-informed, but the ignorant sectary, by whatsoever name he may call himself, that is most likely to be exclusive and bitter. He who has respected his own mind so much as to enlighten it, will be all the more likely to respect those of others; and whoever has examined a question to the bottom, has found occasion to look at reasons, which he is no longer surprised should have weight with others, though they do not satisfy himself. The great variety of sects among us, making a universal toleration the interest of each, is a circumstance not a little favorable to the diffusion of a spirit of mutual candor. In the general interest felt in the subject, members of the same family are often members of different religious connexions; and fathers and mothers, and brothers and sisters, will know how to believe us when we say, that the mutual exhibition of a spirit of piety, under different professions, in the domestic circle, hardly admits the indulgence of any furious passion against the mere attachment to such an abstraction, as is the creed which one disapproves. And perhaps, more than all, the universal mutual acquaintance and equality of our people in their childhood and youth, which has led us to these remarks, is absolutely and mightily hostile to any such result. You cannot pick a John Knox out of the mob of hearty, laughing boys, who sweep by you in their hot game of football, as you pass near the village school. There is not an urchin of them that has ever entertained the question,

> "Shall I give up the friend I have valued and tried,
> If he kneel not before the same altar with me?"

A very different thing from a Saint Dominic is that sweet little girl, who sits at her needle in all good understanding with her companions, though some of the group go with their parents to worship at the old meeting-house, some to the chancelled church, and some to the Methodist tabernacle. She herself goes perhaps to the Quaker conventicle. But when Sunday comes, there is very little scowling and pouting done, as they pass each other on the way. They learn to love each other before they have learned the definition of the word *creed*, to

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say nothing of the definition of the matters which creeds contain. They learn these things too, in due time, but too late for them to be dispossessed of their childish experience, and made to believe, that to think otherwise than they think, is necessarily to be knave or fool; nor do they easily fall into that delusion, even when they come forward to be prominent members, in the same circle, of the sects to which inquiry or circumstances have severally attached them. At all events, while sects in New England pursue energetically their separate objects, they are for the most part content to do this, without manifestations of mutual ill-will or disrespect; nor are individuals, connected with them respectively, prevented from being each other's bosom friends, or cordial fellow-laborers in some common cause. There are instances, no doubt, of persons, unhappily constituted, or viciously trained, presenting exceptions to these remarks; but theirs is any thing but the characteristic spirit of the region. We have, on the contrary, sometimes had occasion to witness elsewhere an acerbity of feeling connected with sectarian distinctions, and interfering with the courtesies of social intercourse, of which we never saw a solitary example in these New England States.

We started upon this course of remark by saying, that from the equal footing upon which our children in New England are bred together at the schools, there is engendered among the people a feeling of personal independence, as well as that sense of mutual respect, which is hostile to aristocratic or sectarian assumptions. That under such circumstances, the natural tendency of a boy's education would be, to make him an independently thinking and acting man, no one would question. That such is actually the result to be witnessed in the character of the mature New England mind, is a point which we cannot give up, though it seems to be questioned in some remarks, proceeding from the midst of ourselves, which have lately had extensive circulation in the Western country. They come from a very high source, but it is only, on that account, the more our duty to take notice of them. Dr. Channing, in a letter to the Editor of "The Western Messenger," published in last October's number of that periodical, and reprinted in a separate form, writes as follows;

"Shall I say a word of evil of this good city of Boston? Among all its virtues it does not abound in a tolerant spirit. The yoke of opinion is a heavy one, often crushing individuality

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of judgment and action. A censorship, unfriendly to free exertion, is exercised over the pulpit as well as over other concerns. No city in the world is governed so little by a police, and so much by mutual inspection, and what is called public sentiment. We stand more in awe of one another than most people. Opinion is less individual, or runs more into masses, and often rules with a rod of iron. Undoubtedly opinion, when enlightened, lofty, pure, is a useful sovereign; but, in the present imperfect state of society, it has its evils, as well as benefits. It suppresses the grosser vices, rather than favors the higher virtues. It favors public order, rather than originality of thought, moral energy, and spiritual life."

Expressly, this is said only of Boston. But all the world, (that part of the world, which thinks about the matter,) thinks, and thinks truly, that Boston represents New England, in respect to the leading points of character. And a reader of the remarks quoted will consider himself still further justified, in giving them this comprehensive application, by language which he finds further on. That such was the writer's intention, we neither affirm nor deny. It is no part of our object to fix a broader or narrower meaning on the words, but to protest against a prejudice which we are sure they will be so understood as to confirm.

"All our accounts of the West make me desire to visit it. I desire to see nature under new aspects; but still more to see a new form of society. I hear of the defects of the West; but I learn that a man there feels himself to be a man; that he has a self-respect, which is not always to be found in older communities; that he speaks his mind freely; that he acts more from generous impulses, and less from selfish calculations. These are good tidings; I rejoice that the intercourse between the East and West is increasing. Both will profit. The West may learn from us the love of order, the arts which adorn and cheer life, the institutions of education and religion, which lie at the foundation of our greatness, and may give us in return the energies and virtues which belong to and distinguish a fresher state of society."

We wish, as much as those who wish it most, for a freer intercourse between different parts of these United States; and in the prodigious apparatus for rapid and easy mutual communication, which makes the subject of an earlier paper in this number of our journal, we are even fain to recognise a seasonable arrangement of that Providence, which has great

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things to accomplish for the world by the continued union of this nation, — to obstruct what else would be the natural tendencies of the rapid extension of our territory, to say nothing of some other elements of mutual repulsion. And to the frank and generous character of the people of the West, we lately,* as at other times, had the satisfaction of bearing our full and cordial tribute. But as to travelling to the West, or to any other quarter of the horizon, for the sake of taking lessons in self-respect, freedom of thought or speech, or the habit of acting "more from generous impulses, and less from selfish calculations," we are slow to believe that the descendants of the Pilgrims are yet reduced to any such necessity.

We partly agree with Dr. Channing in regretting that habit of a severe criticism of the services of the pulpit, which he specifies in connexion with what we have quoted, and by the mention of which he was led to those more comprehensive remarks. But to regard it as an indication of a prevailing intolerance of public opinion, we think would be generalizing, altogether too far, what belongs to the relations sustained by one profession. Mainly, we suppose, the fact complained of is to be viewed as a traditionary consequence of the position which the clergy occupied in our primitive times. They exerted an influence greater than that of any other class in society. The doctrine they taught was the leading subject of solicitude and inquiry ; how could it be otherwise, than that what they said should be narrowly watched, and thoroughly canvassed ? Moreover, their opinions had direct practical bearings upon the community's movements. The annunciation of their opinions had immediate practical results. How could it be, but that, when important interests of their hearers were to be affected by views which they should take, those views should become the subject of scrutiny and discussion ?

So much for the matter of their preaching. With respect to its being made the subject of criticism in a different point of view, — that of a rhetorical exhibition, — it is to be remembered that the clergy have been the scholars of New England, through a great portion of its history. The people, for a long time, looked to them for their standard of taste in composition, and each congregation had a pride in the literary name of its pastor. Habits of this sort do not cease at once,

* Review of Butler's History in No. XCII.

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when, by a change of circumstances, the original cause becomes less operative. They are of a kind extremely likely to be transmitted, by force of the mere example of elders. If the literary merits of preaching are now discussed in New England to a degree greater than these considerations will satisfactorily explain, it is natural to refer to the fact, that, up to the present time, some of the most eminent ornaments of our literature are found among the clergy. As to any intolerance of a free expression of opinion from the pulpit, we are not aware that opinions there expressed are more exposed to sifting and comment than in other places, where the subjects of pulpit discourse command an equal interest on the hearer's part. We have thought, indeed, that a somewhat peculiar latitude was allowed in this respect. We are old enough to remember that many of the clergy, in the high political excitements of twenty and thirty years ago, gave expressions of their views, which were most offensive to a large portion of their hearers, and that few were made to suffer any inconvenience on that account. Dr. Channing alludes, in this connexion, to a prevailing distaste for extemporaneous preaching. We shall not undertake to say, that it is not carried too far, though in some cases, where that method of address has been successfully attempted, the distaste has not been found insurmountable. But we are inclined to trace it, not so much to an intolerance of rhetorical inaccuracy, — for then it would affect equally the extemporaneous efforts of the deliberative assembly and the bar, — but to an impatience of those exaggerations, into which an extemporaneous speaker on an abstract subject, is very likely to fall, in the warmth of his excitement or the exigencies of his invention. For the rest, sermon-making is a favorite form of literature among the New England people; what wonder then, that, having a taste formed on good models, they should be somewhat fastidious about it? The populace of Athens were strict critics of a play; were they subject, therefore, to a general charge of want of a tolerant spirit? did they therefore exercise "a censorship unfriendly to free exertion?"

Further; wherever great subjects are thoroughly and freely canvassed, there some conclusions are likely to be reached; that is to say, there will be eventually some strong and definite bias of public opinion. So, no doubt, it is in New England; and, for ourselves, we are fond of regarding the

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phenomenon in question, as a gratifying fruit and proof of free discussion, rather than as a hurtful hindrance to it. Such a bias of public opinion is not itself intolerance; for a community, which has opinions, and understands their grounds, like an individual in the same condition, is not only not dispossessed of its candor by its intelligence, but is all the more likely to be candid, on that account.

Let us see, however, whether intolerance is actually superinduced upon it, with its supposed result of "crushing individuality of judgment and action." The question, thus, becomes twofold. We do not know better how to try it, than by taking the case of politicians. No case can be fairer; for, in the movements of politicians, every man feels himself to be interested, and a politician every man can reach by his vote.

Do the New England people, then, keep a Procrustes' bed for their public servants, or are they rather fond of allowing them considerable latitude, when convinced of their intelligence and honesty? Two or three facts, by way of reply, must serve for a specimen of a variety of such, which we have not room to set down. — The war of 1812 has been the great party question of these times. One of the old parties was broken down, by taking the unlucky side in relation to it. Except by popular election, not a man can, at this day, set his foot in the federal councils, who is known to have disapproved that measure, unless he is also known to have since eaten his words. Though the voice of New England was against it, there can be no doubt that an overwhelming majority of the generation which has since come up, is, — rightly or otherwise, — of a different mind; nor is there any more doubt, that, on that most exciting point, a politician among us may adopt the exploded doctrine, without prejudice to his prospects of advancement. The case may be the same, elsewhere; it is enough for us, that it is so here. — The practice of Instructions to Representatives is hardly known among us as a mode of political action; nor with all the citizen's natural jealousy of his agent, is the doctrine, sustaining that practice, by any means acquiesced in, as part of the true constitutional theory. The legislature of one of our States, a short time ago, adopting an exotic fashion, invited its Senator in Congress to obey its mandate or resign; and it got a lesson for its pains, which it will not speedily forget. — Elsewhere there is a

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habit of writing letters to candidates for public office, to exact from them pledges respecting the manner, in which they will use their possible discretion in some supposed emergency of the future. The thing has not been much more than heard of, in these eastern ends of the earth. — As to Boston particularly, let one fact have a hearing. The last incumbent of the mayoralty but one, was a gentleman of excellent qualifications for that office, and he sustained it admirably well. He was chosen to it, at a period of strong party excitement, when he was known to belong to one side on the absorbing question of national politics, and a large majority of the electors belonged to the other. We defy any one to infer the want of a tolerant spirit, from a fact like this. It is to no purpose to say, that police duties have small connexion with questions of general politics. In feverish times, it is not in this way, that partisans reason, where intolerance prevails. Intolerant party leaders are equal to harder feats than that of persuading intolerant followers, that the mere elevation of an opponent to a post of dignity and personal influence, is a desertion of the common cause.

On the other hand, supposing the intolerance of the mass to be greater, is there a disposition on the part of those on whom it would operate, to let it break them down to a pusillanimous abandonment of liberty of thought and action? This is the other part of the question. And respecting this we insist, that there are, in this same matter of political life, the most unequivocal proofs of the absence of any general disposition of the kind. Candid, tolerant, trusting, large-minded as a community may be, still a degree of *surveillance* by the citizen over the course and character of the public officer, is the proper and the necessary incident of republican administrations. For the public good, the thing ought to be; but however generously interpreted on the part whence it proceeds, such supervision involves a degree of discomfort to a man of a sensitively independent mind. As far as the conditions of humanity permit, he would prefer to be responsible only to his sense of duty and his God; at least, not to be responsible to such, as can but imperfectly understand, however respectfully they may confide in him. Accordingly, such a man will not be inordinately covetous of public office. Considerations of public duty, when they can be made apparent, will of course move him to undertake it. But as a

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matter of personal ambition, he will not desire it much. And especially, all his tastes will render him averse to complying with conditions of popularity, which appear to him to be mortifications of one's self-respect. With all charity for everybody, he will be indisposed to the attentions, which the low-minded may think themselves entitled to exact from him, by their power of giving or withholding a vote. He will be impatient of being questioned, as to whether, in a given state of things, he will humor one or another prejudice, or so much as take one or another part. He has no relish even for that canvassing, by friend and foe, of his modes of thought and action, which is necessary to show the voters that he is the best man they could possibly elect.

Now it is impossible, in our view, not to trace to this jealousy of personal independence, which (with the fairest constituency,) is somewhat threatened in the relations of public life, the fact that, in all quiet times, a large portion of the best spirits of New England have preferred to devote themselves to other toils. The fact is so notorious, that one of the writers whom we have quoted above, has tortured it into a support of his charge of aristocratic pride. "The upper class," he says, (p. 514, above,) "are often too refined to attend to their political duty. They are too much immersed in letters and pleasure, too sublimated, to descend to the vulgar arena of elections." This is not so. As to voting merely, it is, to a striking degree, the habit of all conditions in New England, to repair to the elections, and give their ballots, as the lists of voters in the towns, at any election, compared with the census of the towns respectively, would show. And as to public service, among all times of moment and peril, when the best men New England possessed were wanted for that employment, we should like to see one era pointed out, when plenty of her best men were not furnished. We own it, on the other hand, to be a New England notion, (—and we dare say, it may be that of other places equally,—) that good men are intended for other uses, besides those of politics; — for politics, doubtless, but for other uses too. And we own, further, that there are New England habits and instincts, as well as principles and sentiments, adverse to the business of office-seeking. They are such as would hardly admit the introduction among us, of machinery which exists elsewhere. We find no fault with methods elsewhere

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approved. Let every community choose its own. For most established and unquestioned customs, there is some good local foundation; and the custom of speaking at elections, in furtherance of one's own claims, is observed and upheld by good and honorable men, who are better judges of its effect, where it prevails, than we could pretend to be. But it has, and has had, no existence among us. Except a *soi-disant* "Orator," we could not name the person, who has ever, on New England soil, taken that step for his own elevation. And in this, and other like facts, indicating a reserve and shyness in respect to public office, we find any thing rather than a weak willingness to bow to a community's dictation, or conciliate its goodwill and good offices by any unbecoming sacrifice.

Let us tell those who will believe us, once for all, that the New England people, while they are tolerant of the various ways of acting and thinking, are rather characteristically chary of their own. They are not inclined to bear hard upon others, and they are unmanageably restive, when borne hard upon. So far from being blamably easy and compliant, they have rather, from the time of the Puritan fathers down, been marked by qualities exposing them to be charged with the opposite faults of a very "fierce democratie." To be sure of keeping straight, they have been not unapt to lean backwards. It has been extremely true of them, that the more one tried to drive them, the more they would not go.* And we commend this well-ascertained trait of their character to the

* "The people began to fear, lest, by reëlecting Winthrop, they should make way for a governor for life. They accordingly gave some indications of a design to elect another person. Upon which John Cotton, their great ecclesiastical head, then at the height of his popularity, preached a discourse to the General Court, and delivered this doctrine; 'that a magistrate ought not to be turned out, without just cause, no more than a magistrate might turn out a private man from his freehold without trial.' To show their dislike of the doctrine by the most practical of evidences, our ancestors turned out Winthrop at the very same election, and put in Dudley. The year after, they turned out Dudley, and put in Haynes. The year after, they turned out Haynes, and put in Vane." — Quincy's *Centennial Address*. p. 33.

"In 1639, there being vacancies in the board of assistants, the Governor and magistrates met, and nominated three persons 'not with intent,' as they said, 'to lead the people's choice of these, nor to divert them from any other; but only to propound for consideration, (which any freeman may do,) and so leave the people to use their liberties according to their consciences.' The result was, that the people did use their liberties according to their consciences. They chose not a man of them. So much for the first legislative caucus in our history." — *Ibid.*, p. 35.

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attention of some belligerents of the newspaper press, whose course it would improve.

Upon the matter which we have been treating, Mr. Fennimore Cooper deserves to be heard. He has no partiality for New England, to bring suspicion on his evidence. On the contrary, the politics, which most characterize her modern history, he hates as heartily as if they deserved to be hated. But his impressions respecting the self-respect and individuality of her people are strikingly at variance with the view presented in the last quotation which we made.

"The effect of this diffusion of common instruction is pre-eminently apparent throughout New England, in the *self-respect*, decency, order, and *individuality* of its inhabitants. I say individuality, because, by giving ideas to a man, you impart the principles of a new existence, which supply additional motives of concern to his respectability and well-being. You are not to suppose that men become selfish by arriving nearer to a right understanding of their own natures and true interests, since all experience proves that we become humane and charitable precisely as we become conscious of our own defects, and obtain a knowledge of the means necessary to repair them. A remarkable example of this truth is to be found in New England itself. Beyond a doubt, nowhere is to be found a population so well instructed, in elementary knowledge, as the people of these six States. It is equally true, that *I have nowhere witnessed such a universality of that self-respect* which preserves men from moral degradation." — *Notions of a Travelling Bachelor*, p. 94.

"If a union of the utmost scope to individual enterprise with the most sacred regard to the rights and feelings of the less fortunate of our species, be any evidence of an approximation to this desired condition of society, I think the inhabitant of New England has a better right to claim an elevated state of being than any other people I have ever visited. The activity of personal efforts is everywhere visible on the face of the land, in their comforts, abundance, improvements, and progressive wealth, while the effect of a humanity that approaches almost to refinement, was felt at every house I entered. Let me not be misunderstood: I can readily conceive that a European gentleman, who had not been, like myself, put on his guard, would have found numberless grounds of complaint, because he was not treated as belonging to a superior class of beings by those with whom he was compelled to hold communication. Servility forms no part of the civilization of New England, though civility be its essence. I can say with truth, that after traversing the coun-

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try for near a thousand miles, in no instance did I hear or witness a rude act. Not the slightest imposition was practised, or attempted, on my purse. All my inquiries were heard with patience, and answered with extraordinary intelligence. Not a farthing was asked for divers extra services that were performed in my behalf; but, on the contrary, money offered in the way of *douceurs* was repeatedly declined, and that too with perfect modesty, as if it were unusual to receive rewards for trifles. My comforts and tastes, too, were uniformly consulted; and, although I often travelled in a portion of the country that was but little frequented, at every inn I met with neatness, abundance, and a manner in which a desire to oblige me was blended with a *singular respect for themselves.* Nor was this rare combination of advantages at all the effect of that simplicity which is the attendant of a half-civilized condition; on the contrary, I found an intelligence that surprised me at every turn, and which, in itself, gave the true character to the humanity of which I was the subject." — *Ibid.*, pp. 96, 97.

We had something further to say on this last point; but we must hasten to reward our readers' patience, by releasing it. We have not volunteered this course of remark. Self-vindication, for a general rule, is not the most dignified office. But it is forced upon us by the existence and expression of sentiments, on the part of some of our fellow-citizens of other sections of the country, which it is not good for them nor for us that they should entertain. What we have been submitting to their consideration, has been said quite as much in justice to them, as to ourselves; for we ought not be willing to have their minds abused by prejudices, which we can do any thing to dispel. For the rest, it is not they who are the objects of a groundless unfavorable opinion, that have the worst, but they who have unjustly taken it up; and though we like, as well as other people, the good opinion of our neighbours, it is a thing, which, in the last resort, we can afford to do without. Character is a better thing than reputation. If we take care enough to deserve the latter, it is likely that, in the long run, we shall have it, in all quarters where we shall think it of much account. But even if that result should fail, it would be a disappointment not absolutely beyond the power of endurance.

We have heard with sorrow and surprise, that some persons, understood to be emigrants from New England, have been known to give their countenance to calumnies circulated against her character; — surprise, we say, but it is a surprise which

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a little consideration tends largely to abate. That the number of such cases is small, we feel the strongest assurance. Of the crowds, who, in obedience to their native spirit of enterprise, pour from this *officina gentium* year by year, the mass have the good sense and the good feeling, to cherish, wherever they go, among the most sacred sentiments of their souls, the reverence and gratitude which they owe to the home they have relinquished. As often as occasion presents itself, they are true enough to themselves, to be ready with a manly vindication of its character; and they vindicate that character best by an honorable exhibition of it, in their own persons. But it would be extravagant to presume, that this will be the case with all. Among such numbers, it is to be supposed that there will be here and there one without character, — at least, without reflection, or without heart; and that there will be others,— honest and sensible men, too, in the main, — who are yet laboring under unfortunate biases. An individual, for instance, — it is not an uncommon case, — has left his New England home in early manhood, with his fortune all to seek. His nativity was cast in a comparatively mean condition, which he did not remain long enough here to reverse. In his new sphere he rises to wealth, consequence, popularity; what wonder, that, looking back thence on his birthplace, as the place only of his obscurity and indigence, he should have some feeling as if it had been unjust to him, unless he be discriminating enough to observe, that had he remained by his home to exercise the industry and intelligence which have elevated him, they would have yielded him there a like harvest to what he has elsewhere been gathering. That such a person should allow himself in unkind, disparaging comparisons between the scene of his brighter fortunes, and that which gave him the power to advance himself, is certainly in some degree excusable, if it is in no degree wise. — Some emigrants, it is to be apprehended there will be, of an entirely opposite character. There will be single instances of such as have gone abroad, simply on account of the bad odor they were in, at home.

> "True patriots they; for, be it understood,
> They left their country, for their country's good."

Their representations of the society which would not tolerate them, are not likely to be of the most favorable kind; but their representations are of less account, by reason of the less

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credit they will command. — And between these two classes is yet another, of which, on manifest principles of human nature, we presume there are some few specimens, but which it is harder to reduce to any precise description. There are young persons, more or less well inclined and well principled, who are yet impressible and movable, to almost any extent, by the power of sympathy. It is not merely calculation, — it may be, much more, a mere foolish facility, — which disposes them to adopt, wherever they go, the habits of thought as well as of speech and behaviour, which they find to prevail around them. This is not characteristically a New England frailty; the contrary, rather; it is but one of the endlessly diversified phases of the common human nature. But among the hosts of New England emigrants, it is to be supposed that some will be found affected by it. In such cases, there will be sometimes an extraordinarily sudden and marked transformation. The Yankee youth, whom one meets in some remote city, or plantation, or wild, will be found as outrageously anti-New England, as the proselyte is warm against the principles he has forsaken, or the *nouveau riche* is inveterate against every thing which pertains to the shop. In certain visible symptoms, pertaining to the same disease, you have tolerably sure prognostics how such a person will speak of his home, before the subject has been introduced. If you remark, that whatever is peculiar in the forms of language of his new residence has been sedulously adopted, you may confidently augur that he has meant to make himself over again, merging all his Yankee identity in the process. If a dirk-hilt, or pistol handle, peeps from beneath his vest, (things which a decent man in New England would no sooner think of wearing, than he would of taking his walk with a four-pounder trailed behind him,) you may be sure that New England parsimony, aristocracy, bigotry, and the rest, will find no quarter at his hands. It will be of no use to tell him, that, whatever his new associates may think of his country, they will think none the better of him for so ready an adoption of their views concerning it. It will be all in vain, at present, to commend to his attention the universal concurrence in the truth of the homely maxim, that "it is an ill bird that defiles its own nest." You must wait. He is not to be despaired of. He may come to his wisdom, and his sense of character, yet; and then he will come, at the same time, to bitter humiliation and regret for the recreant nonsense

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he has vented. If, in the mean while, the mother that bore him must be prejudiced by his abuse, her greatest grief, and wrong, and shame, are in the dismal spectacle of his folly.

We designed to speak further than we now can do, of Mr. Bradford's "History of Massachusetts for Two Hundred Years"; particularly with reference to its introduction, as a text-book, into our common schools. Besides being in form extremely convenient for that purpose, it is the work of a gentleman with whom our New England history has been the study of a life, and who, from the official relation which he long sustained, as Secretary of the Commonwealth, enjoyed peculiar advantages for its prosecution. Without saying that, in all respects, the work is all that could be desired for the purpose, we are sure, that, under the direction of competent instructers, it would render excellent service to our youth. At any rate, if this volume is not all that might be wished, let one be produced which would be. If need be, let the Commonwealth offer a prize, suitable to obtain a history for the schools, from the best mind which it can enlist in that important service. We find, in the Secretary's Abstract of School Returns for 1836, that in the schools of several towns, some history of the United States is studied, and in some Irving's "Life of Columbus"; while in only one, that of Scituate, have we remarked any mention of a history of Massachusetts as a text-book.* These things should be done, but the other should not be left undone. As far as public provision can effect it, Massachusetts should not suffer one of her children to leave her borders, or grow up within them, without knowing well the history, to the end of being the more imbued with the spirit, of his excellent birthplace.

* The existing laws, which we perceive we have not fully described in the beginning of this article, are as follows. Towns consisting of 50, 100, 150, or 500 families, must support one or more common schools, for terms, in every year, the aggregate of which shall be 6, 12, 18, and 24 months respectively. Towns of 500 families, in addition to their Common Schools, must support, 10 months annually, a school where instruction shall be given in the History of the United States, book-keeping, surveying, geometry, and algebra. Towns of 4000 inhabitants must have their school of this latter class under the care of a master, able to teach Latin and Greek, general history, rhetoric, and logic.

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Art. X. — CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. — *The Compact, with the Charter and Laws of the Colony of New Plymouth; together with the Charter of the Council at Plymouth, and an Appendix, containing the Articles of Confederation of the United Colonies of New England, and other valuable Documents. Published agreeably to a Resolve passed April 5, 1836.* Under the Supervision of William Brigham, Counsellor at Law. pp. 357. 8vo. Boston; Dutton & Wentworth, Printers to the State. 1836.

The Legislature of Massachusetts has at various times manifested a very commendable desire to preserve the records and muniments of our forefathers, and to diffuse the knowledge of our colonial and provincial history In the year 1814, they subscribed for six hundred copies of "Hubbard's History of New England from the Discovery to 1680," which, after lying in manuscript for upwards of a hundred and thirty years, was then for the first time published by the Massachusetts Historical Society, and furnished a copy of it to every town in the Commonwealth, including the District of Maine. In 1824 they purchased three hundred and fifty copies of Mr. Savage's invaluable edition of Governor Winthrop's History of New-England, to be distributed in like manner among the several towns of Massachusetts. Without this liberal and efficient aid, it may be questioned whether either of those important works would have appeared even to this day.

Again, in the year 1812, Hon. Nathan Dane, William Prescott, and Joseph Story were appointed a committee to collect the charters, and the public and general laws, of the colony and province of Massachusetts Bay. The result of their labors appeared in 1814, in a royal octavo volume of 868 pages, of which one thousand copies were printed. In 1818, the Rev. Dr. Freeman, of Boston, Samuel Davis, Esq., of Plymouth, and Benjamin R. Nichols, Esq., of Salem, were appointed by the legislature to examine the records of the Old Colony of Plymouth, which, notwithstanding the union of that colony with Massachusetts in 1691, had been retained, and remained deposited in the office of the register of deeds of Plymouth county. These commissioners were subsequently authorized to cause the most important parts of the records to be transcribed, and the copies to be deposited in the office of the Secretary of State. This duty was intrusted by them to B. R. Nichols, Esq., who performed it with

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great fidelity and accuracy. The copies fill eleven folio volumes, which are provided with copious indexes, and can be readily consulted by the historian, the legislator, or the antiquarian.

At the last session of the legislature, by the recommendation of his Excellency the Governor, an appropriation of a thousand dollars was made to defray the expense of arranging and classifying the numerous files of papers and documents deposited in the office of the Secretary of State, which had lain there for ages in a chaotic mass, and consequently had, in the course of time, been not a little reduced in quantity by the abstraction of such loose papers as suited the convenience or taste of inquisitive collectors. The Governor appointed to this office the Rev. Joseph B. Felt, a gentleman whose habits of antiquarian research and familiar acquaintance with our early history eminently qualified him for the place. Ever since his appointment, he has been diligently engaged in examining and arranging this mass of documents, and has succeeded in bringing a portion of them at least into some kind of order. As fast as they were arranged, they have been bound up in large folio volumes, of which twenty are already completed, and provided with indexes. A cursory inspection of these volumes will satisfy any one of the wisdom of the legislative resolve authorizing this arrangement, and of the singular qualifications of the gentleman to whom the work has been intrusted.

It was likewise at the last session of the legislature that a resolve passed, that 1,500 copies of the Laws of the Old Colony of Plymouth should be published for the use of the Commonwealth; and the Governor was authorized to appoint a commissioner to superintend the printing. William Brigham, Esq., received the appointment, and the fruits of his labors we have now before us in the beautifully executed volume, the title of which stands at the head of this notice. In this age of procrastination, particularly in regard to all public works, we feel bound to commend the promptitude as well as the accuracy with which this work has been prepared. The resolve passed on the 5th of April; and within seven months a royal octavo volume of 357 pages has been compiled and carried through the press. As a large portion of it is now first printed from the manuscript records, and as the original spelling is strictly followed, the preparing the copy and correcting the proofs must have been a work of great care and minute attention. We deem it a subject of congratulation, that the editorship of this volume devolved upon one, who was not only so well qualified for the task, but was likewise willing to give to it that personal attention which is essential to secure accuracy in publications of this sort.

The volume is chiefly valuable as illustrating the spirit of our

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Pilgrim fathers, and exhibiting the manners, wants, and sentiments of those early times. The laws of a people are one of the best indexes of its character and condition; and this is particularly true of a simple and primitive people like the Plymouth colonists, living together in a small community in a new-found world, and resembling a family or a patriarchal tribe rather than a state or nation. The code before us carries us back to the very infancy of the settlement, shows us the misdemeanors and vices prevalent in the new community, and the penalties that were deemed most proper and efficient to check them. We see the moral as well as the physical difficulties with which the first settlers had to contend, and the remedies which they provided for their relief.

Some of the laws in the Plymouth code give us a very graphic and amusing picture of the simplicity of manners that prevailed in these primitive times, and we cannot refrain from citing one or two of them. The first relates to a custom which we presume will continue to prevail, despite of all laws, so long as the world shall stand. "It is enacted by the Court, that whosoever shall inveigle or endeavour to steal the affections of any man's daughter or maid-servant, or shall make any motion of marriage, not having first obtained leave and consent of the parents or master so to do, shall be punished either by fine or corporal punishment, or both, at the discretion of the bench, and according to the nature of the offence." The next relates to a practice which we fear is nearly as deep-seated as the former in the affections and habits of the community. "It is enacted by the Court, that if any shall be found or seen taking tobacco in the streets of any town within the colonies of this government, or in any barn or out-house, or by the highways, and not above a mile from a dwelling-house, or at his work in the fields, every such person so offending shall forthwith pay twelve pence for every such offence. And for boys and servants that shall offend herein, and have nothing to pay, to be set in the stocks for the first default, and for the second to be whipped. And any person that shall be found smoking of tobacco on the Lord's day, going to or coming from the meeting, within two miles of the meeting-house, shall pay twelve pence for every such default to the colony's use." The last relates to a new species of tythe, if we may not rather call it a new form of the voluntary system. "The Court proposeth it as a thing they judge would be very commendable and beneficial to the towns where God's providence should cast any whales, if they should agree to set apart some part of every such fish or oil for the encouragement of an able, godly minister among them." We seek however in vain among the Plymouth laws for any thing corresponding to the following law passed by the colony of Massachusetts Bay in 1651. "It is ordered by

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this Court, that whosoever shall be found observing any such day as Christmas or the like, either by forbearing labor, feasting, or any other way upon any such account as aforesaid, every such person so offending shall pay for every such offence five shillings as a fine to the county."

The publication of this volume is but fulfilling, in part, the recommendation of the commissioners who, in 1818, as we have before mentioned, examined all the records of the Old Colony, and stated it as their opinion that it would be of benefit to the present age, and still more to posterity, to print the most interesting articles, and that it was particularly desirable that the whole of the *laws* should be printed in chronological order. As this has now been so well done in the volume under consideration, we hope that the Legislature will proceed in the good work, and cause other portions of these important records to be printed. We are particularly desirous that the Acts of the Commissioners of the United Colonies, which fill two folio volumes in manuscript, should be published by the authority of the State. These records, it is well known, were transcribed by Ebenezer Hazard, Esq. and compose nearly the whole of his second quarto volume of Historical Collections, published in 1794. That work is now exceedingly scarce, and is not free from errors. This scarcity we have heard accounted for in a way which, for the honor of the country, we hope is not true. It has been stated that, on the death of Mr. Hazard, these volumes of State Papers were put up at auction among his other effects, and were purchased and used as wrapping-paper. This is paralleled only by what John Bale, the antiquary, tells us was done with the libraries of the monasteries suppressed by Henry VIII. "A great number," he says, "of them which purchased these superstitious mansions, reserved of these library books some to serve their jakes, some to scour their candlesticks, and some to rub their boots. Some they sold to the grocers and soap-sellers, and some they sent over sea to the bookbinders, not in small number, but at times whole ships full, to the wondering of the foreign nations. I know a merchant man, which shall at this time be nameless, that bought the contents of two noble libraries for forty shillings' price; a shame it is to be spoken! This stuff hath he occupied in the stead of gray paper by the space of more than these ten years, and yet he hath store enough for as many years to come. A prodigious example is this, and a most horrible infamy among the grave seniors of other nations!"

Mr. Nichols, whilst examining and transcribing the records of the Old Colony, went through the laborious process of collating Hazard's printed volume with the original manuscript; and the corrected volume is now deposited in the office of the

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Secretary of the Commonwealth. A great part of the labor is thus already performed, and we have hoped that the Legislature, during the present session, would pass a resolve authorizing the reprinting of this corrected volume. Should this be determined upon, we hope that the services of Mr. Brigham will again be put in requisition. The experience and tact that he has acquired ought not to be lost to the community. We trust, likewise, that a selection will be made from the curious and valuable papers which Mr. Felt is arranging, and that the fruits of his labors also will come before the public in a tangible form. Massachusetts is bound, by gratitude to the founders of her institutions, to perpetuate their memory and disseminate the story of their deeds.

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2. — *The Song of the Bell, translated from the German of Schiller, for the Boston Academy of Music*, by S. A. Eliot. The Music by Andreas Romberg. Boston; Kidder & Wright, printers. 1837.

Among other curious particulars on the subject of bells contained in that oddest of books, the "Doctor," it is stated that it was not uncommon for bells to be cast within the precincts of monasteries, and that, as soon as the casting was finished, the bell was baptized, and immediately raised to its place in the belfry, in order that no profane hands might touch it after its consecration. It is probably a scene of this kind, which Schiller intended to represent in his "Song of the Bell." Whether Schiller originally designed it for music, we do not know, though there are some circumstances which lead us to suppose that such was not his intention. However this may have been, it has been made the subject of a musical composition by Andreas Romberg; and it is of the whole, considered as a musical work, that we design to give an account. The German of Schiller has been translated into English for the use of the Boston Academy of Music, by Mr. Eliot. To preserve exactly the mechanical structure of the verse, line for line, syllable for syllable, accent for accent, preserving the rhymes precisely in the same position in which they were placed in the original, was a task which might well have been deemed an impossibility. But in order to give full effect to the music, this was necessary, and, notwithstanding its great difficulty, the translator has succeeded in performing it. Nor only this. We do not hesitate to say, that under all this accumulation of adventitious difficulties, incident to the use which

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the translation was to serve, it is a work marked with the ease and force of an original composition.

The "Song of the Bell" is in its form dramatic, the interlocutors being the master and the chorus of workmen, who are engaged in casting the bell. From time to time the master gives directions with regard to the different processes, while the workmen describe the uses of the bell, moralizing upon the various events of human life with which they are connected. There is something in the form of the composition which reminds us of the chorus in the ancient drama, and one almost expects to find that the master is Vulcan, and that his workmen are the Cyclops, laboring at their furnaces in the bowels of Etna. But these workmen are no Cyclops forging the thunderbolts of Jupiter, or the armour of classic heroes, and discoursing of the immovable laws of Fate and Destiny. Neither are they the warlike artisans of the middle ages, like Harry Smith of the Wynd, ready alike to forge or to wear in battle their strong armour. These bell-founders are good German artisans, full of enthusiasm and love of all things in the world or in life, prone to speculations somewhat mystic, and withal possessing a certain quiet and unobtrusive humor.

The various subjects which are suggested by the different uses of the bell, naturally divide the song into several distinct portions. But the directions of the master are so introduced as to fix the attention upon the work which is going on, and to give unity to the whole. A similar effect has also been beautifully produced by the composer, who by introducing the same melody with slight variations whenever the master speaks, has given the same unity of character to the musical composition.

Notwithstanding that the general unity is so well preserved, still the poetry and the music being naturally divided as we have remarked, into several distinct portions, it will be more easy to convey an idea of the whole by describing each portion separately. To the direction of the master to commence their work, the workmen answer in chorus,

> "To the work we now prepare,
> A serious thought is surely due,
> And cheerfully the toil we 'll share
> If cheerful words be mingled too," &c.

The music of this chorus is simple, unpretending, and graceful. The master then directs them to feed the fire and add to the "melting copper" the "boiling tin."

> "That the thick metallic mass
> Rightly to the mould may pass."

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Chorus.—"What with fire's dread power,
We in the dark deep pit now hide,
Shall on some lofty sacred tower
Tell of our skill and form our pride," &c.

The music of this chorus is a spirited and majestic movement, full of dignity, and well expressing the idea of the poetry.

The first use of the bell is at the baptism of the infant. The days of infancy, childhood, and the first delicious hours of youthful love, make the subject of some beautiful music. A sweet and expressive air describes with much beauty the earliest hours of infancy, which "are passed in sleep's dominion mild." The impetuous days of early manhood, when the youth "rushes to the world without," his return home, his first emotions of love and the progress of the passion, make the subject of a solo and a duet. These three airs make, as it were, one scene in the piece, and in them the composer has shown great power of appreciating and expressing the sentiments of the poet.

The mixture of the different materials naturally leads to the idea of the union of the stronger and the gentler sex. The marriage festivities are described in a lively and pleasing melody. Next comes one of the most remarkable portions of the whole work. The bustle and hurry of active life, the labor and enterprise of the husband to amass wealth, and the busy household virtues of his wife, are described by the poet with exquisite but delicate and subdued humor. The composer has seized exactly the idea of the poet, and given a song containing just as much quiet, comic expression as the poetry requires. The hurry and bustle of a money-getting life are, we should think, as little adapted as any thing could be to the purposes of art. It is not a little remarkable that the composer should, in this instance, so exactly sympathize with, and realize the idea of the poet.

The toils and labors of life are not without their reward.

"The father cheerful from the door,
His wide-extended homestead eyes,
Tells all his smiling fortunes o'er;
The future columns in his trees,
His barn's well-furnished stock he sees.
* * * * *
He boasts with swelling pride,
Firm as the mountain side,
Against the shock of fate
Is now my happy state."

These words make the subject of a quartette. The calm and soothing effect of a beautiful landscape, composed of richly cultivated grounds, is well expressed by soft music gradually increasing in force with the swelling feelings of the fortunate

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owner. At this moment three other voices are added with the words,

"Who can discern futurity?
Who can insure prosperity?
Quick, misfortune's arrow flies,"

the music contrasting beautifully with the loud voices in which the preceding boast was expressed.

The master now directs the casting to begin.

* * * *

"Strike the copper clear,
God preserve us here;
Sparkling to the rounded mould
It rushes hot, like liquid gold."

Here the chorus describes the destructive effects of fire;

"When bursting from her bonds, she 's seen
To quit the safe and quiet hearth,
And wander lawless over the earth."

The treatment of this subject by the composer deserves particular notice and commendation, inasmuch as musical authors are apt to mistake the true objects and capacities of their art, and to describe such scenes by attempting directly to imitate the noises, rather than by giving a musical expression of the emotions excited by them. The full examination of this chorus, which is somewhat long, would occupy too much space, but there is one point which we think deserves to be mentioned particularly. When the conflagration has spread desolation over the whole city, and there is no longer hope of checking its progress,

"Hope now dies!
Man must yield to Heaven's decrees,
Submissive, yet appalled, he sees
His fairest works in ashes sleep."

The two first lines here quoted are given by the composer as a loud burst of despair, which is gradually softened down to an expression of humble resignation.

The casting is now completed, —

"To the dark lap of mother earth
We now confide what we have made."

The chorus composed for these and the immediately succeeding words, is perhaps the finest chorus in the whole piece. It brings out with great delicacy, the idea of the poet, conveyed by the words,

"And yet more precious seed we sow,
With sorrow in the world's wide field,
And hope, though in the grave laid low,
A flower of heavenly hue 't will yield,"

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The music expresses with much beauty the blending of the emotions of sorrow and hope. This is followed by a short dirge, succeeded by a beautiful recitative and air to the words,

> " Alas! the wife, — it is the dear one —
> Ah! it is the faithful mother,
> Whom the shadowy king of fear
> Tears from all that life holds dear," &c.

The whole of this *scene*, if so it may be called, is full of pathos and tenderness. The metal is then suffered to cool, the mould is broken up, the bell is christened, and immediately swung aloft, to be "a neighbour to the stars." We have not space to speak particularly of the fine music which abounds in this last part. The concluding chant,

> " All together! heave!
> Its birthplace see it leave.
> Joy to all within its bound!
> Peace its first, its latest sound!"

is full of grace and beauty.

In the construction of the music of this piece, it seems to us that the composer has had one very great difficulty to contend with. We think that there is too *much* poetry, to admit of an adequate musical expression in a single composition. This is merely an opinion, and as such we offer it with due deference to better judges. A song, in order to admit of proper musical expression, should, as it seems to us, be confined to the bringing out of one single leading idea, and so of a chorus, or any other portion of a musical work. In order to give *unity* to a musical composition, there must be one leading musical idea, pervading the whole, and carefully brought out and set before us in all its aspects. Now if the composer is compelled to pass rapidly from one thought to another, he will almost of necessity abandon the musical unity of his composition. Handel's famous song, "I know that my Redeemer liveth," which we have always considered to be the finest vocal composition extant, is a good exemplification of what we have been saying,— it being wholly confined to the musical expression of a single thought. It appears to us that the music of the "Song of the Bell" also illustrates the correctness of our opinion, though the composer has certainly succeeded remarkably well in overcoming the difficulty.

We wish to call attention to another point. It is remarkable that the composer has in no single instance, that we can recollect, attempted a direct *imitation* by means of music, of any object which he wished to describe, but in every case has made his music descriptive, by endeavouring to express and to excite in others the same emotions and feelings as are expressed by the

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poetry. It may safely be said that there is hardly a sound in nature which is a musical sound, and that just in the same degree as we succeed in imitating natural sounds, we depart from music. We think any person may be convinced of this by examining either the "Creation" or "Seasons" of Haydn. In both those immortal works there are some, though not a great many instances, of direct imitation of natural sounds, and we think it may be confidently asserted, that even the genius of Haydn has not succeeded in making those passages musical. The author of the music of the Bell has shown that in this matter he thoroughly understands the powers and objects of his art.

We cannot conclude without recommending this composition to the serious study of the lovers of music. It is published for the use of the Academy, in a form very convenient for study, and with the orchestral accompaniments compressed into a very practicable arrangement for the piano forte. It deserves to hold a place in every collection of piano forte music.

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3. — *The Columbian Bard; a Selection of American Poetry, with Biographical Notices of the most popular Authors.* By the Editor of "The Bard," &c. London; Hamilton, Adams, & Co. York; J. Shillito. 1835.

This is a very pleasing little volume, neatly and even elegantly printed. It contains a great variety of poetical specimens, taken from our best poets. The introduction is written in a very friendly tone towards this country. The following remarks show a candid spirit, and are an honorable testimony to the pure morality of our youthful literature.

"After a careful examination of a very large proportion of American Poetry, the Editor is happy to be able to state, that it possesses one characteristic which, he believes, is peculiar to the poetical literature of the New World, and which will prove a powerful recommendation to a very large and increasing number of his fellow countrymen; namely, — that it is of the *purest moral character*, and, for the most part, contains a distinct recognition of the leading truths of divine revelation. A fact like this, is a most convincing proof of the high state of moral feeling that distinguishes the inhabitants of America, notwithstanding all that bigoted and hired political partisans have asserted to the contrary."— pp. xv. xvi.

The biographical notices are confined to the statement of a few leading facts in the lives of the respective authors, and very brief views of their poetical character. They are marked by a

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truly catholic spirit, and a delicate taste. The only thing to be regretted is their brevity. The longest articles are those upon Lucretia Maria Davidson, (of whose life and works we hope to give some account, in a future number,) Mr. Percival, and Mr. Willis. In the notice of the last-named gentleman the author is mistaken in calling him a native of Boston. He was born in Portland. The appearance of this volume, is one among many proofs of a more amicable spirit on the part of our English brethren. We hope the time is coming when perfectly friendly relations will be established between us, and Englishmen will cease to judge our authors on purely political grounds.

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4. — *Mogg Megone. A Poem*, by JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER. Boston; Light & Stearns. 1836. 24mo. pp. 69.

WE fear that the diminutiveness of this volume will occasion it to be overlooked and lost in the crowd of larger works, few of which deserve so favorable regard. It is said that nature never puts a giant's mind into a dwarf's body; and it is a sort of injustice to the spirit of this poem to have thrust it into so insignificant an embodiment. It is a work of real and distinguished power, with some considerable defects both of plan and execution, but with so much strength and vividness of conception, truth of description, and beauty of verse, that we are ashamed to have allowed ourselves to defer the notice of it until we are obliged to compress it into a few lines.

It is a tale of Indian life, the scene of which is laid at Norridgewock, in Maine. Its catastrophe is connected with the destruction of the Catholic Missionary establishment there, and the death of Father Ralle. The story is not a pleasing one; it is too savage, and it is not so constructed as to excite a single and sustained interest. But its separate scenes are of great and sometimes terrible power, and they are intermingled with softer passages of a descriptive and reflective character. No one can read the scene in the outlaw's hut, when the sleeping Sachem is killed by Bonython's daughter, without a thrill of terror.

> "Ruth starts erect — with bloodshot eye,
> And lips drawn tight across her teeth,
> Showing their locked embrace beneath,
> In the red fire-light: — "Mogg must die!
> Give me the knife!" — The outlaw turns,
> Shuddering in heart and limb, away —
> But, fitfully there, the hearth-fire burns,
> And he sees on the wall strange shadows play.

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A lifted arm, a tremulous blade,
Are dimly pictured, in light and shade,
Plunging down in the darkness. Hark, that cry!
Again — and again — he sees it fall —
That shadowy arm down the lighted wall!
He hears quick footsteps — a shape flits by! —
The door on its rusted hinges creaks: —
'Ruth — daughter Ruth!' the outlaw shrieks;
But no sound comes back — he is standing alone
By the mangled corse of Mogg Megone!"

Contrast with this the sweet and graceful description which follows of an autumnal landscape;

"'T is morning over Norridgewock —
On tree and wigwam, wave and rock.
Bathed in the autumnal sunshine, stirred
At intervals by breeze and bird,
And wearing all the hues which glow
In heaven's own pure and perfect bow,
That glorious picture of the air,
Which summer's light-robed angel forms
On the dark ground of fading storms,
With pencil dipped in sunbeams there —
And, stretching out, on either hand,
O'er all that wide and unshorn land,
Till, weary of its gorgeousness,
The aching and the dazzled eye
Rests gladdened, on the calm blue sky —
Slumbers the mighty wilderness!
The oak, upon the windy hill,
Its dark green burthen upward heaves —
The hemlock broods above its rill,
Its cone-like foliage darker still,
While the white birch's graceful stem
And the rough walnut bough receives
The sun upon their crowded leaves,
Each colored like a topaz gem;
And the tall maple wears with them
The coronal which autumn gives,
The brief, bright sign of ruin near,
The hectic of a dying year!

Beneath the westward turning eye
A thousand wooded islands lie —
Gems of the waters! — with each hue
Of brightness set in ocean's blue.
Each bears aloft its tuft of trees
Touched by the pencil of the frost,
And, with the motion of each breeze,
A moment seen — a moment lost —

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Changing and blent, confused and tossed,
The brighter with the darker crossed,
Their thousand tints of beauty glow
Down in the restless waves below,
And tremble in the sunny skies,
As if, from waving bough to bough,
Flitted the birds of paradise." — pp. 25–28.

The poem has many pictures so distinctly formed, that a painter could put them on the canvass at once; for example, the description of Mogg at the opening of the poem, of Ruth Bonython at the cottage door, of the Indian boy and the fisherman, and of Father Ralle and Ruth at the confessional. We quote the lines describing the Missionary settlement.

"On the brow of a hill, which slopes to meet
The flowing river, and bathe its feet —
The bare-washed rock, and the drooping grass,
And the creeping vine as the waters pass —
A rude and unshapely chapel stands,
Built up in that wild by unskilled hands;
Yet the traveller knows it a place of prayer,
For the holy sign of the cross is there:
And should he chance at that place to be,
Of a Sabbath morn, or some hallowed day,
When prayers are made and masses are said,
Some for the living and some for the dead,
Well might that traveller start to see
The tall dark forms, that take their way
From the birch canoe, on the river-shore,
And the forest paths, to that chapel door;
And marvel to mark the naked knees
And the dusky foreheads bending there,
And, stretching his long thin arms over these,
In blessing and in prayer,
Like a shrouded spectre, pale and tall,
In his coarse white vesture, Father Ralle!" — p. 31.

A minute criticism of this little book would bring to light many modest beauties, as well as suggest various emendations. But it is enough for our present purpose that we recommend it to the attention of readers of poetry. Mr. Whittier must write again. He has in various forms displayed his power, and if he will choose a less revolting theme and construct his fable skilfully, and give to the execution all the finish of which he is capable, he will make a poem that shall live.

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5. — *An Elementary Treatise on Sound; being the Second Volume of a Course of Natural Philosophy, designed for the Use of High Schools and Colleges.* Compiled by Benjamin Peirce, A. M., University Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in Harvard University. Boston; James Munroe & Co. 1836. 8vo. pp. 220.

It is seldom that a book comes from the press, which is designed to meet a more urgent want of the community, than this second volume of a course of Natural Philosophy. At a time when so many books, good and bad, are written, on every variety of subjects, and with particular adaptation to the widely different classes of readers, — and especially when the overflowing supply of manuals used seems to leave nothing to be wanted in the work of instruction, — it is a little singular that there is occasion for the remark that this volume fills a gap which no one before appears to have noticed, or at any rate to have endeavoured to close. In elementary treatises prepared exclusively for the use of common schools, acoustics have been considered in a simple manner among the other branches of Natural Philosophy. But no work whatever has appeared, designed for the higher places of instruction, and presenting a full and accurate analysis of the principles of sound. We know it to be true of several of our colleges, — we believe it to be the case with all of them, — that while optics, electricity, magnetism, and astronomy have received their proper share of the student's time, this portion of science, with no reason for the exclusion, has been confined entirely to the lecture room. There is some occasion, then, for congratulation that we have a really new book, and one which cannot be laid aside; and since it is probably destined to be introduced into all our colleges, as it has already been into one, we are glad to know that it has been executed in such a manner as will leave little demand for another.

Professor Peirce lays no claim to originality in this work. He tells us that he made Sir John Herschell's Treatise on Sound, written for the Encyclopedia Metropolitana, the basis of his own book. In remodelling that work, he has consulted all the works on sound of any consequence, as well as embodied the very important discoveries recently made by Faraday; in a word, he has wrought a pleasing and symmetrical whole out of all the loose and scattered materials which relate to the subject. The labor of such a task is immense, and it is no small praise to say that it has been done accurately, and leaves nothing more to be desired. This department of science is yet in its infancy. Many of the

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experiments have never been repeated. It would not be strange, therefore, if future research should show that some alterations were necessary in this treatise. But this does not affect the present character of the work. Such changes can easily be made as soon as they are required.

There is one subject connected with acoustics which is extremely difficult, and in which we think Professor Peirce has been remarkably successful; the organs of the human voice. There have been very contradictory theories in regard to the peculiar service of each part of this complex structure. In Mr. Peirce's book it is shown how they may be reconciled, and that the difficulty with every one of them does not lie in any false statement, but in a partial apprehension of the whole truth. He sees no reason why two independent parts of the organ of voice may not serve the same purpose, and strengthen one another; and if so, then there is nothing strange in the different experiments and theories, but only an insufficiency.

We close this brief notice with a single remark. An unusual degree of attention has been given of late years to music. We have almost come to admit it among the branches of popular education. In order that our colleges should keep at a suitable advance, means ought to be furnished for making an acquaintance with the principles of sound, and every well-educated man should consider it as a necessary accomplishment.

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6. — *An Address to the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Rhode Island. Delivered September* 7, 1836. By William G. Goddard, Professor of Belles Lettres in Brown University. Boston. 1837. 8vo. pp. 30.

This is a grave, polished, and scholarlike discourse. It is alike worthy of the occasion, and its accomplished author. The subject is the Value of Liberal Studies, with reference to the structure and tendencies of American society; and it is handled with ability and elegance. After a few introductory remarks on the prevailing tastes of the age and country, Mr. Goddard proceeds to a more particular examination of the causes which have impressed upon the American mind and manner their most decided characteristics. His observations on the influence of wealth and the general desire to attain its advantages, are sound and seasonable. In a fine passage, the author then pictures an "exile from intellectual Germany" landing upon our shores, and visiting the different parts of our wide-spread country. This gives him an opportunity of sketching the leading characteristics of the great divisions of the West, the South, and the North;

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and of showing how an extended taste for liberal studies would exalt and ennoble them all. We were particularly pleased with Mr. Goddard's remarks upon the importance of having a better taste to guide the expenditures of our wealthy men; of having their attention more generally called to the fine arts, to music, painting, and sculpture. It is unquestionably true that more money, in proportion to the whole amount expended in our large cities, is lavished annually upon the gratification of vulgar vanity, or of the sensual appetites, than in any other part of the civilized world. This is deeply to be lamented; and the opinion of such men as Mr. Goddard, conveyed with his tasteful and urbane style, will have a good effect in correcting the evil. It is a pity that while we follow eagerly the shifting fashions of Europe, we should not be inspired with an equal zeal to share with our kinsmen abroad the intellectual blessings of their advanced civilization. It is a high duty of our men of letters to speak plainly to their countrymen on this point.

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7. — *Études sur la Richesse des Nations, et Réfutation des principales Erreurs en Économie Politique.* Par Louis Say. Paris, 1836. 8vo. pp. 172.

The time is not, we think, far distant, when "The Wealth of Nations" and other works on political economy, making up the eighty volumes which M. Louis Say says he has critically read, will be regarded in the same light on this subject, as the books of the alchemists in relation to chemistry, that is, as being full of wrong theories, but at the same time having brought to light many important truths; and we think that this little work of M. Say will hasten this period. It is devoted to the exposition and refutation of some of the erroneous doctrines of former writers, not excepting his brother J. B. Say, whom he mentions with fraternal regard; and he considers the present publication as a tribute, in some sort, to his brother's memory, and not the less so, as it is devoted, in part, to the correction of erroneous views entertained by him in common with other political economists.

The author considers it a radical error in the works in greatest repute and most read on this subject, that they represent national wealth to consist in the quantity of precious metals, or in the exchangeable value of things, or in net rents; whereas he considers it to consist of the *gross* annual income, *gross* as distinguished from *net*. This, however, is only giving a peculiar signification to national wealth, preferable, it is true, to the other definitions, because it leads to more just views, but still partial

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and inadequate, it seems to us; for, to take an instance, jewelry, the precious metals, pictures, statuary, books, &c., yield no annual income to the possessor, and yet, of two nations, one wholly without them, and the other abundantly supplied with them, we should hardly hesitate to pronounce the latter the more wealthy, other things being equal.

We cannot, therefore, agree with M. Say in his definition of national wealth. We think it ought to be broader; but still it is fortunate in one respect that he has adopted this, since it has led him to give the subject of the *gross* annual income its due importance in the scale of economical science. If we go into the inquiry, what augments and what diminishes the annual income, including wages of labor, products, &c. of every kind, we shall touch upon every subject belonging to the science of political economy, and we shall not be led into any error in speculation, since the gross annual income, considered from year to year, in the aggregate, so far surpasses all other considerations, that we shall not be led far astray if we consider it the exclusive subject in political economy.

M. Say remarks, what has often been objected to Adam Smith, that he gives no definition of national wealth, or, as others say, of political economy. But it seems to us that Adam Smith is not so open to exception in this respect, as has been supposed. The title of his book is a definition of political economy, which is the science of national wealth; and he explains what he means by national wealth. In this explanation, it is true, we fully agree with M. Say in thinking he commits gross mistakes, but still it is not the want of the definition, so much as its inaccuracy, that is to be complained of. Smith says that the wealth of a nation is the aggregate of the inventories of the individuals, who compose the nation, upon which M. Say justly remarks that there is a great difference between a nation and an individual as to the mode of estimating wealth, and he demonstrates very clearly the error of Smith in this particular. And this question is pregnant with important consequences, since it is from this very definition that Smith deduces some of his most material doctrines.

The use of the term *value* in various senses by different authors, and in different places by the same authors, has, as M. Say remarks, contributed to involve the study of political economy in great obscurity, and even exposed it to ridicule. He discusses this subject at some length, and exposes very successfully the flimsy and sterile disputes of authors upon this branch of the inquiry. M. Say's theory is, that value results from utility. A thing has value because it has utility for use, consumption, or exchange. But this renders it necessary to define

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utility, a matter attended with no less difficulty than that of defining value. Why not say that the value of a thing depends upon its being the subject of exclusive possession as property, and upon the fact that men desire to possess it, without going further to say that the exclusive possession is desired on account of its utility? Whatever be the cause of this desire, its effect as to value is the same.

He points out very clearly the defects of Smith's classification of capital into fixed, circulating, and that destined to consumption. He proposes one in its stead, namely, capital fixed, movable, capacity, and faculties for industry, and pecuniary capital, productive in itself, and stimulating production.

He dwells very much upon the great truth that the skill and muscular strength of the industrious poor is *their* capital, and the great foundation of the national wealth; and he repudiates the notion that labor is so much pain and suffering, maintaining, on the contrary, that it is exhilarating and conduces to happiness, and that what the laborer acquires by his industry is as much clear gain to him as the net rent of a farm or house is such to its proprietor.

He entirely disapproves of Smith's phrase and doctrine of the *Division of Labor*, and gives some very just and striking views of the courses and phenomena of the separation of trades and employments.

He overthrows Ricardo's notion, as a general theory, that value is invariably determined by the cost of the production, a doctrine which Ricardo takes from Adam Smith. According to this doctrine, he says, the mining and refining of a pound of gold costs nineteen thousand times as much labor as the mining and refining of a pound of iron, a proportion wonderfully wide of the fact.

He concludes that the existence of the *science of political economy* is denied with good reason, if such a science is only to be learned in the authors he has quoted and criticized, being those of most authority upon the subject.

He treats at some length of the paramount importance of home production and consumption, respecting which he differs materially from the authors he examines. This part of his book will be read with much interest both in Europe and the United States.

We are particularly gratified with his remarks upon the wicked doctrine of Malthus on population. He exposes its shallowness as well as its atrocity.

On the whole, the work is very able. It shows a thorough knowledge of the works on the subject. The views are striking, generally just, and always clear, and, what is of great importance,

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the course of inquiry is everywhere of a practical character. All the topics we have mentioned, it will be observed, do not give frequent occasion for the expression of the author's views as to the causes of national wealth or poverty. The present work is mostly devoted to clearing the way. The last chapter on revenue lays the foundation for his views on taxation. He proposes to publish treatises on particular branches of political economy hereafter, in which he will very naturally come to the investigation of the causes of national wealth and poverty. All who devote themselves to the study of this subject will look with great interest for M. Say's future publications.

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8. — 1. *The Prometheus of Æschylus, with Notes, for the Use of Colleges in the United States*, by T. D. Woolsey, Professor of Greek in Yale College. Boston. James Munroe & Co. 1837. 12mo. pp. 90.

2. *The Electra of Sophocles*, &c. &c. 12mo. pp. 134.

Professor Woolsey has now completed his proposed course of Greek Tragedies. He has given specimens from among the best works of the three masters, in an agreeable form, and accompanied by a body of notes, which deserve all praise. Of his Antigone and Alcestis, we gave some account in a former number of this journal. The Prometheus and Electra are edited on the same general principles. Mr. Woolsey's labors will be highly appreciated by all who are engaged in classical instruction, and by those who continue their acquaintance with the great authors of Greece after leaving the walls of a college. The Prefaces, Notes, and metrical Tables, which accompany these Tragedies, form a body of critical learning, tasteful exposition, and metrical science, which would do honor to a much older professor than Mr. Woolsey. We hope the reception of these admirable works, among the teachers and scholars of our country, will induce Mr. Woolsey to follow up the career he has so brilliantly entered upon. It is an uncommon thing in any country, for a mind of nice poetical sensibilities, to be engaged in critical labors, or to have the necessary patience in the acquisition of exact knowledge, to qualify it for such a task; but so fortunate a conjunction between profound and accurate learning, and delicate taste, when it does take place, brings out something which men will not willingly let die. With such a beginning as Mr. Woolsey has made in classical scholarship, what may we not expect from the rich studies and ripened experience of future years?

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9.—1. *An Address, delivered before the Association of Teachers, and Friends of Popular Education, at Exeter, December 28th,* 1836: By S. H. Blake. 8vo. pp. 24.
2. *A Lecture, delivered before the Young Men's Association for Mutual Improvement, in the City of Albany, January 24th,* 1837. By Hon. Samuel Young. 8vo. pp. 36.
3. *Address delivered before the Alumni Society of the Nashville University, at Nashville, Tennessee, October 4th,* 1836, by the Hon. E. J. Shields. 8vo. pp. 31.

The number of addresses on the subject of education, annually produced in the United States, would be incredible to any one who had not seen with his own eyes. If they prove nothing else, they prove that our countrymen regard the subject as one of paramount importance; and this feeling is by no means confined to any portion of the country. The first of the above discourses was pronounced at Exeter; the second at Albany, and the third before the Alumni of Nashville University, in Tennesee. Mr. Blake thinks soundly, and writes well in the main. We like the earnest tone of his Address. His sentiments on the necessity of popular education to the support of the institutions of freedom, are truly American. His suggestions for the improvement of common schools, and for strengthening the influence of accomplished teachers, are very good. The style of Mr. Blake's Address would be improved by compression. Here and there a flower might be plucked off, without injury to the stock.

Mr. Young leaves the masculine gender to take care of itself. He addresses the ladies; and the interest of his subject kindles him to a high strain of enthusiasm. He is eloquent, apparently because he cannot help it. Who could? We sympathize with his fervor. We think his tribute to the ladies for what they have done, well merited; and for what they may, and probably will do, still more so. "Not their deserts," only, "but what they will deserve." We have no doubt that the synonyme on his title-page, which we ought not to have abridged, "the best method of promoting civilization and improvement, or the influence of woman on the social state," is a great deal better than any of Crabbe's.

Mr. Shields's Address is a curious pendant to Mr. Goddard's, which has been already noticed in this number. The one is a picture of American society, as it appears to the retired scholar; the other, as it meets the eye of the busy politician, seeing around him the proofs of unexampled prosperity. Both pictures

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are true, considered in reference to their respective points of view. Mr. Goddard looks to the intellectual wants of the country mainly. Mr. Shields delights in contemplating its inexhaustible resources of wealth, and the cheering prospect of unequalled political liberty. Mr. Shields interweaves in his discourse many interesting facts in the history of popular education. The West cannot fail to profit by the publication of such enlightened views, as those with which this address abounds.

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10. — *Guida dell' Educatore, e Letture per i Fanciulli. Foglio Mensuale.* No. 1. Firenze. G. P. Vieusseux. 1836. 8vo. pp. 56.

This is the first number of a journal of education, published in Florence. It is edited by a gentleman of experience and talent, and bids fair to be a useful work. The introduction is an exceedingly well-written essay on the object of education, and the best method of attaining it. The old systems are described, their faults pointed out, and their merits acknowledged; and the new modes, in which ancient severity has been made to give place to gentle treatment, are well illustrated. But, in his zeal for improvement, the editor is by no means blind to the bad effects of excessive leniency, which he describes with force and humor. Indeed many passages in this introduction read more like the delineations of human life, drawn by a master in the walks of elegant literature, than the lucubrations of a writer on "pedagogics." One of the articles contains a handsome tribute to Miss Edgeworth, whom the editor promises to make better known to his countrymen. The "Letture per i Fanciulli," with which the number closes, are excellent, particularly the simple story so pleasantly told by the *nonna* (grandmother) of little Carlo Lidoni. We wish the sprightly editor, who seems to be equally at home in deep philosophy and playful humor, a hearty Godspeed in his mission of benevolence.

The following sketch, furnished us by a friend, will make our readers better acquainted with the accomplished publisher. They may remember that Signor Vieusseux is mentioned in Maroncelli's work, as formerly conductor of the *Antologia*, at Florence.

"Vieusseux was born, of Swiss parents, at Oneglia in the Genoese territory. He has travelled and resided in all parts of Europe, and some parts of Asia and Africa. He knows everybody, and everybody's connexions and business; is full of enthusiasm for every thing good, and of projects for effecting it; a lover of literature; *omnifariam doc-*

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tus; always alert and busy, and a whetstone to the minds of others; a theologian, a philanthropist, and a citizen of the world; a bachelor, simple in his habits, and officious (in a good sense); *emuncti naris;* fastidious, yet extracting pleasure from every thing; facetious and satirical, but without one drop of gall; a great pedestrian and lover of nature; a connoisseur in the arts, but without pedantry; with quick, piercing, gray eyes, and a certain hilarity of countenance.

"I first met him in Africa. The plague of Florence and of Athens was paralleled before our eyes; but nothing could restrain Vieusseux from going abroad. He must walk around the walls of the city (Tunis) to compare it with others, and conjecture the population (of which the government know only that it is as great as it pleases Allah), but brickbats drove him in. He must visit the plague hospitals as an amateur, to compare them with those of Constantinople, evading all human touch, (without observation,) as Cicero did Catiline's dagger. In the evening, he read to us Mad. de Staël's French Revolution, then a novelty, and Grimm's Memoirs, whose anecdotes he rivalled with others from his own store. At Florence he would rouse me at break of day, and lead me off for leagues, 'brushing the dew away' from the hills of Fiesole, and back again before the city was astir. This was just after the *Antologia* was set up.

"I cannot help fancying him reading Maroncelli's poetizing account of his journal. 'Cassandra,' indeed! Her image has little congruity with Vieusseux, or any of his undertakings. With him, in every thing,

'Hope enchanting smiles, and waves her golden hair.'

"The vivid recollection of him is enough to dispel melancholy, and make one 'put a cheerful courage on.'"

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11. — *Reasons for Thankfulness, a Discourse delivered in the First Presbyterian Church in Rochester, N. Y., on the Day of Annual Thanksgiving, December 15th,* 1836. By Tryon Edwards, Pastor of said Church. Rochester. 1837. 8vo. pp. 40.

Instead of giving an analysis of this very striking and eloquent discourse, we prefer to fill the little space which remains to us with an extract, illustrating the wonderfully rapid growth of some of our Western cities.

"Forty-eight years ago, the ground on which our city now stands was only known as a part of the hunting-ground of the remnant of the 'Six nations.' The person who first left Massachusetts to explore it, took public leave of his family, his neighbours, and the minister of the parish, who had assembled, *all in tears,* to bid him, as it were, a final adieu! At that time, a tract of 24 miles in length, by 12 in breadth, was *given* by the Indians *for a mill yard!*

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"Rochester, now the capital of this county, 25 years since, had no existence. The first log house, on the east side of the river, was erected in 1808; the first on the west side, in 1811: — and the first *white person born in the village, (in 1810,) is now a member of this* congregation. At this time the mail was carried eastward, once a week, on horseback, and part of the time by a woman! In 1812, part of the ground on which the city now stands, was first laid out in lots, and offered for sale. In this year, also, a post-office was established in the village, and its first quarterly income was $3.42 cents! In 1814, the settlement was threatened with an attack from the British fleet, which came to anchor at the mouth of the river; and all the male inhabitants capable of bearing arms, (being only 33!) turned out with the militia of the adjoining towns, to prevent the landing of the enemy, leaving but two men to take care of the women and children. In 1815, the first religious society, that of this church, was organized with 16 members; and it will give you some idea of the condition of the country, when I tell you that it was the only congregation in at least 400 square miles.

"Twenty-one years have since passed away, and now we behold ROCHESTER the *fourth*, if not the *third* city in the 'Empire State.' Its limits include about 4200 square acres; its population, according to the census just taken, is over 17,000; and the estimated value of its property, is $17,500,000. The annual income of its post-office, which is a good test, both of its literary taste, and commercial prosperity, is over $14,000. Its Custom-House income is $60,000 per annum; and its canal revenue $192,000, — larger than that of any place west of the Hudson. We have 2 daily, 5 weekly, 1 semi-monthly, and 2 monthly papers; an Athenæum, with a library and reading room attached to it; a Library Association; an Academy of Sacred Music, with a professor and 150 pupils; 12 Agencies for Insurance Companies; 11 miles of broad and well flagged side-walks; 3 Banks with an aggregate capital of $950,000, and allowed to issue between two and three millions; and 1 Savings Bank, the annual deposites in which amount to $100,000. The known annual sales of merchandize, of various kinds, amount to more than $5,500,000. In addition to 9 lines of daily stages, there is constant communication with the city, by rail-roads, and steam and canal boats. Our water power is of immense magnitude and value. The two great falls and several rapids of the river *within the city limits*, make an aggregate descent of *two hundred and sixty feet*, or about one hundred feet more than the perpendicular descent of Niagara! The value of this water power, as computed by the standard of steam power in England, is almost incredible, exceeding $10,000,000 *for its mere annual use!* This is the moving power to most of the great manufactories, and to our *mills*. These immense establishments, — our FLOUR MILLS, — sustained by the enterprise and skill of our MILLERS, have already rendered Rochester celebrated as *the greatest flour manufactory in the world.** They are 20 in number, having 94 runs of stones, and

"*The Allan Mill was erected in 1789, for the sake of gaining a title to the adjoining land. A person, now living in the city, returning from

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are capable of manufacturing 25,000 bushels of wheat daily! They actually *do* make on an average from 500,000 to 600,000 barrels of flour per year, worth, at present prices, nearly $6,000,000."

NOTE.

The sixth article of our last number embodied such a variety of statements respecting the condition of Insane Hospitals, at home and abroad, as scarcely to admit the possibility of avoiding all inaccuracy. A distinguished gentleman, holding an official relation to the State Lunatic Hospital of South Carolina, has been so good as to furnish us with the following memorandum, which we give in his own words; —

"At page 112 of the Review, it is stated that 'Kentucky has the honor of being the first State in the Union to establish, at the expense and under the control of the State, an Asylum for pauper lunatics. In the year 1824, a spacious and commodious building was erected at Lexington for their accommodation, at an expense of 40,000 dollars,' &c. And below, I read, 'At Columbia, South Carolina, is a well-conducted hospital for lunatics. It was built by the State in 1829,' &c.

"I presume the statement relative to the Kentucky hospital is correct; at least I know nothing to the contrary. That relative to South Carolina contains an error as to the date, 1829. The appropriation for the Asylum was made by the Legislature in December, 1821. In 1822, the board of commissioners selected the spot and made arrangements for the erection of the buildings, and its foundation dates from that year. The expense of putting up the suitable buildings exceeding much the amount appropriated by the legislature, caused considerable delays in its completion; and it was not ready for the reception of patients till 1827. The cost at that time was about 80,000 dollars, and the subsequent expenses have raised it to about 100,000 dollars. An additional wing is now about being constructed, and is nearly finished, for the accommodation of more patients, at the expense of 8,000 dollars more. There is a farm of about seventy acres of land attached to the Asylum, which is found very beneficial to the patients who are able to work occasionally; and the profit resulting from this has enabled the establishment to defray its expenses the last year for the first time, yearly appropriations by the legislature having hitherto made up the deficiency. Every district pays 100 dollars a year for each of its paupers.

"You may, Sir, in the next number of your Review, correct this error, if you think proper."

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that mill, *has been followed to his own door by wolves!* And so late as 1800, the mill not supporting itself, was left vacant; and any of the settlers, as they had occasion, went to it, ground their own grain, closed the mill, and returned at their leisure. *And this in a place which is now the largest flour manufactory in the world!*"

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QUARTERLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

ANNUALS.

Youth's Keepsake. A New Year's Gift for young people. Boston. Otis, Broaders, & Co. 18mo. pp. 192.

The Boston Book. Being specimens of Metropolitan Literature. Edited by B. B. Thacher. Boston. Light & Stearns. 12mo. pp. 360.

The Boston Almanac, for 1837. Boston. S. N. Dickinson. 18mo.

The Religious Souvenir, for 1837. Edited by Chauncy Colton, D. D., President of Bristol College, Pennsylvania. New York. Hall & Voorhies. 18mo. pp. 288.

The Magnolia, for 1837. Edited by Henry William Herbert. New York. Bancroft & Holley. Boston. Otis, Broaders, & Co. 12mo. pp. 352.

The Massachusetts Register, and United States Calendar, for 1837. Also, City Officers in Boston, and other useful information. Boston. James Loring. 18mo. pp. 250.

BIOGRAPHY AND MEMOIRS.

Memoirs of Aaron Burr; with miscellaneous Selections from his Correspondence. By Matthew L. Davis. Vol. 1. New York. Harper & Brothers. 8vo. pp. 436.

The Life of Thomas Jefferson, Third President of the United States, with parts of his Correspondence never before published, and Notices of his Opinions on Questions of Civil Government, National Policy, and Constitutional Law. By George Tucker, Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Virginia. In 2 vols. Philadelphia. Carey, Lea, & Blanchard. 8vo.

Sketches of the Life and Character of the Rev. Lemuel Haynes, A. M. By Timothy Mather Cooley, D. D., with Introductory Remarks by William B. Sprague, D. D. New York. Harper & Brothers. 12mo. pp. 345.

Memoir of the Rev. Bernard Whitman. By Jason Whitman. Boston. B. H. Greene. 18mo. pp. 215.

The Young Disciple; or a Memoir of Anzonetta R. Peters. By Rev. John A. Clark, Rector of St. Andrew's Church, Philadelphia. Author of "The Pastor's Testimony," &c. Philadelphia. William Marshall & Co. 12mo. pp. 328.

EDUCATION.

A Practical System of Arithmetic, for the use of Schools, in which the Learner is led by easy gradations through the various Rules necessary to qualify him for the Transaction of Business. By J. Olney, A. M., author of a Geography and Atlas, National Preceptor,

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History of the United States, &c. &c. Hartford. Canfield & Robins. 18mo. pp. 252.

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